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Southeast Asia Report

VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 4, April 1984

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SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

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Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

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DEVELOPING UPON NEW FACTORS AND ADVANCING AGRICULTURE TOWARD LARGE-SCALE SOCIALIST PRODUCTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 84 pp 1-4

[Editorial]

[Text] The line on building the socialist economy in our country is to give priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of developing agriculture and light industry and coordinating the industrial and agricultural development of the entire country within an industrial-agricultural structure. The key to gaining a full understanding of this line is to fully recognize the importance of the role played by heavy industry. In the immediate future, attention must be given to building a number of important heavy industrial sectors and creating the economic-technical conditions for accelerating the development of agriculture and light industry. At the same time, we must focus our efforts on strongly developing agriculture, considering it to be the front of foremost importance, and advance agriculture one step closer to large-scale socialist production; only in this way can we maintain the standard of living of the people and establish the initial bases for the development of heavy industry.

During the past 3 years (1981-1983), in keeping with the party's economic development line and despite the need to deal with the wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and with more than a few difficulties resulting from natural disasters, we still managed to achieve encouraging results in agricultural development. The 5th Plenum of the Party Central Committee confirmed: "The most significant achievement recorded in agricultural production during the past 3 years was the increase in average grain output by nearly 1 million tons per year, as a result of which we no longer have a need to import grain. This victory has opened the possibility of not only achieving self-sufficiency in grain, but also establishing grain reserves."

On the basis of the rapid increases in grain output, the production of industrial crops, especially annual industrial crops, and export crops has reached a new stage of development, one that holds the possibility of expanding this production on a large scale, and attention has been given to

strengthening and developing livestock production and the various sectors and trades.

Together with the victories won in the development of production forces, the new, socialist production relations within agriculture have been solidified and strengthened to an important degree. The coastal provinces of Central Vietnam and the provinces of the Central Highlands have virtually completed their agricultural cooperativization; significant strides have been made in agricultural transformation in the provinces of Nam Bo. Generally speaking, although the agricultural cooperativization has experienced many difficulties and challenges throughout the country, it remains strong and continues to develop. This is an important prerequisite to advancing agriculture to large-scale socialist production.

The management system within agriculture is gradually being changed. The implementation of product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers has been put on a regular basis and much valuable experience has been gained regarding these contracts.

The large victories recorded in agricultural production during the past 3 years (1981-1983) have been the combined result of simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions within agriculture. However, besides the results that have been achieved, there are still problems deserving of attention within our country's agriculture. Although the yields and output of crops and livestock have risen, they are neither uniform nor stable. Although grain output has increased, the amount of grain per capita is still very low (roughly 300 kilograms per person). Meanwhile, the rate of population growth remains high and many of the economy's needs for grain are still not being met. Although rice production has increased, subsidiary food crop production has declined (in terms of the amount of area under cultivation, yield and output), thereby affecting the overall increase in grain output. The increase in industrial crop production has been slow and lacking in uniformity, especially the production of annual industrial crops and export crops.

The limitations upon the results achieved in agricultural production over the past several years have been due to many causes. To begin with, the material-technical bases supporting agriculture are, generally speaking, still weak and inadequate. Despite the construction of a number of water conservancy projects, waterlogging and drought have not been basically brought under control within a number of areas. The supply of fertilizer has not been full or timely and has not meet the requirements of intensive cultivation and multicropping. The supply of other technical materials, such as electricity, petroleum products, pesticides and so forth to agriculture has been very low compared to requirements. The failure to strengthen the seed production, crop protection, veterinary and other technical networks has directly affected our ability to raise the yields and output of crops and livestock.

Constant importance has not been attached to the socialist production relations within agriculture, the right of collective ownership of the masses is still being violated and the property of cooperatives and production collectives is still not being efficiently utilized and much is still being wasted. Despite advances, the socialist transformation of agriculture within

the provinces of Nam Bo still does not meet the requirements of the revolution and the process of transformation is still marked by a number of shortcomings.

Although progress has been made in improving the agricultural management system in recent years, this progress has, generally speaking, been slow and uncoordinated. Although the new contracts have been put into effect, the specific policies and measures needed to guide the various localities in the implementation of these contracts have been promulgated slowly, consequently, the implementation of product contracts is still marked by shortcomings and mistakes at some places. At many cooperatives and production collectives, appropriate importance has not been attached to expanding production and business, developing the sectors and trades, improving management, initiating cost accounting, reorganizing distribution and so forth. Attention has not been given to training and appropriately strengthening the corps of agricultural management cadres, especially on the district level and at installations, consequently, their organizational and management skills are still very weak.

With enthusiasm over the achievements that have been recorded and determination to overcome the problems that remain, our country's agriculture will surely record new and larger achievements.

The task established for the development of the agricultural economy in 1984 and 1985 occupies an extremely important position in completing the 5-year (1981-1985) plan for economic and social development. In the next 2 years, as the resolution of the 5th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee pointed out, "we must continue to promote the full-scale development of agriculture, considering it to be the front of foremost importance, and develop the potentials that lie in our labor and arable land as much as possible with a view toward fully resolving the grain and food problem, accelerating the development of livestock production and developing industrial crop production very strongly in order to create additional sources of raw materials for industry and rapidly increase the sources of export goods."

To implement the guidelines presented above, we must produce 18 million tons of grain in 1984 and 19 million to 20 million tons in 1985. In 1984, we must endeavor to plant 740,000 hectares of annual industrial crops and 190,000 hectares of perennial industrial crops; raise 4.8 million buffalo and head of cattle, 12 million hogs and 89 million fowl; and produce 1.65 billion eggs.

The important measures that must be taken to meet the targets mentioned above are: make full use of our labor and arable land, expand the sectors and trades; establish a local division of labor and expand the division of labor within agriculture; promote intensive cultivation, raise rice yields and raise the uniformity of yields on all land under cultivation, beginning in the key areas of the Mekong Delta and the Red River Delta, because these are the country's main sources of grain and food products. Importance must be attached to practicing intensive cultivation and raising crop yields on all land now under cultivation in a manner closely linked to practicing multicropping and opening new land to cultivation with a view toward creating the conditions for the strong and full-scale development of agriculture toward large-scale socialist production. We must establish centralized subsidiary

food crop production areas in the lowlands of Nam Bo and in the Central Highlands and raise corn production to a position of importance second only to rice. The production of industrial crops must be strongly developed on a large scale, particularly the production of annual industrial crops. In the immediate future, every possible condition must be established for the development of peanut, soybean and tobacco production. We must promote the planting of coffee, tea, sugarcane, mulberries and cotton in all areas and in the state-operated, collective and household sectors to create large sources of raw materials for industry and exportation.

In conjunction with developing crop production, we must intensify the development of livestock production in order to meet rising food needs. We must attach special importance to improving the quality of livestock and poultry in order to increase meat output per unit of land. In the immediate future, we must rapidly develop the hog herd, in terms of both the number of hogs being raised and hog weight, with special attention to improving the quality of breeding stock and reorganizing hog production within the collective and state-operated sectors. We must quickly increase the size of cattle and buffalo herds to meet the needs for draft power, meat, milk and so forth. We must implement the program for the development of commercial chicken production in the cities and industrial centers, especially within Hanoi.

To promote intensive cultivation and raise the yields of crops and livestock, it is necessary to further strengthen the material and technical bases of agriculture. Under the guideline "the state and the people working together," every locality and installation must display greater initiative and creativity in the development of local potentials and make effective use of existing material-technical bases while building the necessary new ones. On the basis of production planning, we must establish centralized areas specializing in the production of rice, subsidiary food crops, industrial crops and livestock so that concerted investments can be made in key projects. In the immediate future, we must plan areas for the growing of coffee, peanuts, soybeans and corn, the intensive cultivation of rice and so forth and give priority to providing these areas with supplies, fertilizer, pesticides, electricity, water and so forth so that they can quickly take the lead in supplying grain, food products and raw materials for industry and exportation.

We must improve the agricultural management system, primarily by perfecting the product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers, in order to develop upon the results that have been achieved and correct the mistakes made in implementing these contracts. On the basis of reorganizing production and establishing a division of labor and management responsibilities within agriculture, we must improve management procedures, promote the practice of intensive cultivation and implement contract and piecework wages at state farms and state-operated stations and farms. We must establish a good relationship among the state-operated economy, the collective economy and the household economy and establish economic ties among state farms, cooperatives and production collectives in order to bring together the combined forces of the state, the collective and the family within the scope of the district. We must examine, amend and research the further development of such policies as the investment policy, the price policy, the procurement

policy and so forth with a view toward encouraging everyone to work and produce with enthusiasm.

we must strengthen the district level, quickly complete the general planning and sector planning of the districts, improve the formulation of plans from the basic level upward and the district plan and assign management responsibilities and additional cadres to the districts so that they are fully capable of meeting organizational and management requirements, beginning with organizing and managing agriculture within the district well.

To insure success in the task of developing agriculture, it is necessary to further strengthen the leadership provided by the various party committee echelons and further improve the building of the party, especially the strengthening of the party committees on the basic level. Above everything else, it is necessary to gain a correct understanding of the line on the socialist revolution, the line on building the socialist economy and the pressing requirements involved in developing agricultural production; necessary to recognize the actual capabilities that exist and the new factors that have emerged within agriculture; and necessary to take positive steps to correct existing problems and bring about new changes within our country's agriculture. We must forge cadres and party members in practical work and within the spirited revolutionary movement of the masses and wage a determined struggle against embezzlement, misuse and misappropriation of public property, the occupation of cropland and property belonging to the collective and state, authoritarianism and violations of the right of the collective ownership of the masses. We must expel opportunist, degenerate and deviant elements from the party and accept into the party outstanding persons who emerge within the mass movement. We must build party chapters and Youth Union chapters that are strong and solid, strengthen the district and basic level party committees and insure that they become strong and solid collectives fully capable of leading and guiding agriculture within the district. Full importance must be attached to teaching and training the corps of cooperative and production collective management cadres so that these cadres are loyal to the revolution, wholeheartedly serve the people and possess the necessary organizational and management qualifications and skills.

Accelerating the development of agricultural production and advancing agriculture toward large-scale socialist production are the work of the entire party and all the people. All levels and sectors, from the central level to the localities and installations, must focus their efforts on guiding and supporting agricultural production well. Every sector must, depending upon its function, resolve problems well in accordance with the requirements of agriculture while improving the organization and management of the sector within the district. We must strengthen the leadership of all levels and sectors, from the central to the local and basic levels, and achieve a combined strength with which to move agriculture forward.

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CSO: 4210/21

PROVIDING GOOD LEADERSHIP OF THE ELECTIONS OF THE PEOPLE'S COUNCILS AND
PEOPLE'S COMMITTEES OF THE DISTRICTS, VILLAGES AND EQUIVALENT LEVELS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 84 pp 5-7, 42

[Unattributed article]

[Text] Within the mechanism "the party leads, the state manages and the people exercise ownership," the agencies elected by the people play a very important role. These agencies are the embodiment of the laboring people's right to be the masters of society and they also directly manage society. This right is defined in our country's Constitution. The Constitution clearly states that the collective master is the laboring people, that all power belongs to the people. Within this system of elected agencies, the people's council, the agency of state power on the local level, is elected by the local people and is responsible to the local people and the government on the upper level.

In recent years, many people's councils on all levels have fulfilled their functions and made contributions to the cause of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland. Many delegates have eagerly fulfilled their responsibilities, maintained close ties with the electorate, promptly expressed the aspirations of the masses to the people's committee, actively voiced their opinions in the management of the work of the people's committee, etc. However, the results that have been achieved are still limited. The resolution of the 5th Party Congress stressed: "Few delegates of the elected agencies have received training in the tasks, authority and methods of operation of their agency; some elected agencies are still operating in a form for form's sake manner and not fulfilling their functions and tasks or exercising their authority as defined in the Constitution." Because the elections of the people's councils on the various levels have, at some times and places, been conducted merely to comply with regulations, been conducted merely as a matter of form and because delegates, mainly on the village and district levels, do not have a clear understanding of their role, position and task and, in addition, lack competency and enthusiasm for their work, they make few practical, useful contributions to the people's council during their term of office. Within our system of government levels, the district and village levels occupy important positions. The district is the important base for reorganizing production, establishing the new division of labor and

closely coordinating the economy with the national defense system. The village and subward are the basic level, the place where each position and policy of the party and state become reality. The weaknesses in the operations of the district and village people's councils have had more than a slight influence upon the policy on building the districts and strengthening the district level in a manner closely linked to building and strengthening the villages. This is a weakness in the operations of the state apparatus and is also a shortcoming in the leadership work of the party.

The elections of delegates to the people's councils of the districts, villages and equivalent levels that are being held between March and May of this year are the first elections to be held under the new laws recently adopted by the National Assembly and promulgated by the Council of State, such as the Law on the Organization of the People's Councils and People's Committees and the Law on the Election of People's Council Delegates. These laws provide the legal foundation for more strongly upholding the right of collective ownership of the laboring people through the state. The Law on the Election of People's Council Delegates establishes election procedures that fully guarantee the principles of democracy.

As is the case with every other area and aspect of work in the operation of the government and the Fatherland Front, the elections of the people's councils on the various levels must be under the close leadership of the various party committee echelons. Providing good leadership of the elections of the people's councils on the district, village and equivalent levels means insuring that these elections comply with the law and creating the conditions needed for the people to fully exercise their right of being the masters of society, select worthy delegates and, through the elections, raise the political level of the people and strengthen their confidence in our fine socialist system.

To accomplish this, the various party committee echelons must widely propagandize the spirit of the new Law on the Organization of the People's Council and People's Committee and the Law on the Election of People's Council Delegates so that everyone realizes that voting in the people's council elections is the obligation and right of each citizen, is an expression of one's right to be the collective master within the locality and installation. Once everyone's awareness has been raised, each voter must be made thoroughly familiar with the standards that people's council delegates must meet and must apply these standards in a manner consistent with the characteristics of each locality. According to the Law on the Organization of the People's Council and People's Committee, people's council delegates have a rather heavy responsibility and a very broad scope of activity. People's council delegates must maintain close relations with the electorate, set examples in complying with the laws and policies of the state, propagandize and encourage compliance with laws and policies by the people and participate in the management of state affairs. People's council delegates must discharge their responsibilities well during council sessions, within the committees of the people's council and in meetings with the electorate. They have the right to make inquiries of the people's committee, the members of the people's committee and the heads of the specialized agencies of the people's committee and the people's court on the same level. They have the right to request that

state agencies, units of the People's Armed Forces, social organizations or personnel of these agencies, units, organizations and so forth promptly cease violations of state law. In view of these tasks and scope of activity, people's council delegates must be persons who are loyal to the fatherland and socialism, have recorded achievements in production, work or combat, are eager to serve the people, actively comply with state law and policies, set examples in their daily lives, possess the qualifications and skills needed to perform the tasks of a delegate and have the trust of the people.

The various party committee echelons must closely guide the drawing up of the lists of persons nominated for election and not leave this work up to the various levels of the Fatherland Front. The nomination of persons for election must be based on the opinions of the collective of laboring people at the installation, the mass organizations and the other social organizations within the locality and absolutely must not be done by having the party committee select persons in advance and then presenting them to the Fatherland Front and going through the motions of holding a consultative conference. Every use of pressure, everything done in a form for form's sake manner merely to comply with regulations is contrary to the democratic nature of the people's council elections and violates the right of the laboring people to be the collective master.

When selecting delegates, appropriate attention must be given to outstanding workers at enterprises, worksites and state farms and outstanding laborers who possess socialist awareness at agricultural cooperatives and production collectives and small industry and handicraft cooperatives and skilled economic management and scientific-technical cadres. An appropriate percentage of delegates must consist of persons outside the party, women and youths. At places where many minority members reside, attention must be given to minority members. However, the consideration and selection of persons to nominate for election to the people's councils on the various levels should not solely be based on the structure and makeup of the people's council. Of prime importance is the need to select competent, respected persons who are close to the people and possess the qualifications needed to fulfill the task of a delegate.

The leadership of the people's council elections by the various party committee echelons also takes the form of close scrutiny to insure that specific election procedures are followed. For example, the number of persons nominated for election within each voting unit must be much higher than the number of delegates elected within the unit; the election must be conducted in accordance with stipulated procedures; in the organizing of the election, favorable conditions must be established for everyone to exercise his or her right to vote in the best and most correct manner possible, etc.

Following the election of the people's council, good leadership must be provided to insure that people's council delegates study and gain a thorough understanding of the spirit and content of the new Law on the Organization of the People's Council and People's Committee so that a good people's committee election can be held.

The members of the new term of the people's committee must be persons who are competent in state management and socio-economic management; comply with the resolutions of the people's council and the laws and policies of the state; and know how to tap the initiative of the locality while maintaining centralized, unified management by the central level. It is necessary to increase the number of manual workers, economic management cadres, scientific-technical cadres and women on the people's committees.

To strengthen the activities of the people's councils and people's committees following the elections, the various party committee echelons must display a higher degree of responsibility in leading the government in implementing the mechanism "the party leads, the people exercise ownership and the state manages." The party committees must not take over the work of the government nor decide specific matters that should be presented for discussion within the people's council and people's committee because such actions turn the people's council and people's committee into organizations in name only, into symbolic organizations, into an organization whose only purpose is to passively conform with the resolutions of the party.

It is necessary to respect and listen to the opinions of the people's council and create the conditions for it to actively participate in the decision of important matters that lie within its jurisdiction.

On the basis of the Law on the Organization of the People's Council and People's Committee and under the guidance of the government on the upper level, the various party committee echelons must regularly review and gain experience from their work of leading the government and adopt strict, suitable regulations governing the relationship between the party committee and the people's council and people's committee on the same level.

The Laws on the Organization of the People's Council and People's Committee and on the Election of People's Council Delegates have codified the resolution of the 5th Party Congress concerning the party's leadership of the local and basic level governments and codified the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Of all the work involved in the leadership of the government by the party committee echelons, providing good leadership of the people's council elections is work of important political, ideological and organizational significance.

With this in mind, the various party committee echelons must provide good leadership of the people's council and people's committee elections on the district, village and equivalent levels and must be determined to correct every manifestation of things being done in a form for form's sake manner, every manifestation of a lack of democracy that usually occur in some localities and installations, thereby bringing about a change of true significance in the effort to increase the effectiveness of the elected agencies and upholding the right of collective ownership of the laboring people.

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ADDRESS BY TRUONG CHINH AT THE CEREMONY COMMEMORATING THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ADOPTION OF THE 'THESIS ON THE VIETNAMESE CULTURAL REVOLUTION'

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 84 pp 8-34

[Address by Truong Chinh at the ceremony conducted by the Vietnam Social Sciences Committee on 27 December 1983 in Hanoi]

[Text] Dear Comrades,

Today, the Social Sciences Committee is commemorating the 40th anniversary of the adoption of our party's "Thesis on the Vietnamese Cultural Revolution."

This provides a good opportunity for us to review the development of the Vietnamese cultural revolution in the recent past, see the large achievements that have been recorded in the field of culture and, at the same time, see the shortcomings that we must make every effort to correct in order to make steady strides forward.

Culture is a very broad field. The experience gained by our party in the past 40 years of the cultural revolution is very broad. Today, I only want to discuss two matters:

I. The "Thesis on the Vietnamese Cultural Revolution."

II. The ideological and cultural revolution during the period of transition to socialism in our country.

I. The "Thesis on the Vietnamese Cultural Revolution"(1)

1. The circumstance surrounding the adoption and the historical significance of the Vietnamese Cultural Thesis.

Our country was a colony of the French colonialists. In 1940, France was defeated. Hitler's army occupied a large portion of France. The Japanese fascists jumped into Indochina. Representing the Petain government, Governor General Decoux surrendered to Japan and "cooperated" with the Japanese. This situation faced our people with a "double burden": the barbarous suppression and severe exploitation of the Japanese and French fascists.

Facing annihilation, our people had but one course to follow, to arise in struggle, drive off the enemy and save the country. National liberation became the urgent task of each stratum of Vietnamese society, of each Vietnamese. It was a matter of survival to the nation.

The history of Vietnam entered a stage which, although very difficult, was also filled with prospect. At the very time that this tragedy weighed heavily upon our people, a favorable opportunity arose for liberating the nation. When two imperialist powers occupy the same country at the same time, it is merely a matter of time before they begin fighting and try to eliminate each other. Two wolves cannot become fat on the same prey. The conditions needed for our people to stage an uprising and seize political power would soon exist.

The 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Indochinese Communist Party held at Pac Bo under the chairmanship of Uncle Ho predicted that Japan and France would fight each other to the death and that an opportunity unlike any other would then arise for winning independence.

The most urgent task being faced at that time was how to mobilize each and every force in order to save the country and liberate the nation. To accomplish this, we had to unite all the people, unite everyone who could be united and win over everyone who could be won over. It was against this background that the Viet Minh Front came into being in order to implement the party's policy of broad unity. From manual workers, peasants, intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie to national bourgeoisie and some small landowners, everyone rallied behind the banner of national salvation of the party and the Viet Minh Front in order to drive off the Japanese and French.

Vietnamese intellectuals could not bear the shame of having lost the country. They thirsted for freedom. In the Vietnamese Cultural Thesis, the party showed them how to remedy this situation. To liberate intellectuals, it was necessary to liberate the entire nation from the yoke of Japanese and French fascism and win back our independence and freedom. And, national liberation meant cultural liberation, meant opening the way for our culture to develop independently and along progressive lines. Through the Cultural Thesis, the party clearly defined the task of our country's intellectuals as participating in the national democratic revolution, especially participating in the cultural revolution, which was a part of the national democratic revolution (the political revolution, the economic revolution and the cultural revolution) and establishing our country's new culture.

As a result, the party mobilized the intellectuals of the country to unite with all the people on the basis of the alliance of workers and peasants under the leadership of the party and closely linked intellectuals to workers and peasants, thus making the Viet Minh Front a more solid and broader front, especially in the cities, where workers and intellectuals were concentrated.

The Cultural Thesis helped to isolate the enemy, win many more friends for the revolution, broaden the anti-Japanese and French Fascist National United Front and mobilized additional patriotic and progressive forces to save the country,

save the race. It charted the revolutionary course for liberating the intellect and our culture within the common cause of liberating the nation.

The Cultural Thesis also resolutely opposed the cultural policy of the Japanese-French fascists. At that time, both of these fascist powers had plans to win over the intellectuals, artists and writers of our country. They used every means of cultural expression to support their rule.

As soon as they arrived in Indochina, the Japanese imperialists began using culture as a means for propagandizing their Great East Asia policy. They succeeded in preventing some intellectuals from seeing the cruel nature of imperialism and convincing them that the Japanese were "yellow skinned" friends who would help the "yellow skinned" peoples free themselves from the yoke of the colonialism of the western countries; as regards Vietnam, the Japanese promised to bring back Cuong De [Nguyen Phuc Dan] to set up a government and closely cooperate with Japan.

Under the Japan-Vietnam cultural cooperation program, the Japanese fascists recruited students to study in Japan and organized tours and art activities to propagandize the so called "superiority" of Phu Tang culture!

The Institute of Japanese Culture was established. A wide variety of activities was employed to implement the plans mentioned above: exhibits and speeches; the publishing of newspapers and magazines for propaganda purposes; musical performances, plays and movies; tours, etc.

Having been deceived, some Vietnamese writers and artists praised the customs, habits and "Bushido" spirit of Japan. They acted as though Japanese culture was spreading the light of civilization and progress to the countries of Asia. Many of them imitated the Japanese to the point of being repulsive: they shaved their heads and wore boots and speaking Japanese became "fashionable." This cultural policy of Japan created an illusion among some intellectuals. A number of them, who served as the lackeys of Japan, became deeply involved in counter-revolutionary activities and deeply involved in opposing their compatriots.

The cultural policy of the French fascists at that time was also a very dangerous and malicious policy. The French employed every means at their disposal to direct the Vietnamese away from the course charted by the party and the Viet Minh Front for National Salvation. They restored the old fashioned and hypocritical moral viewpoints of the feudal landowners and encouraged the licentious and decadent lifestyle of the bourgeoisie. They encouraged superstitious practices and bad customs while bringing to our country reactionary cultural trends in the name of the "new." They spent large sums of money to employ lackeys and organize cultural agencies and mass organizations to cram their culture into the heads of our compatriots, to deceive our compatriots.

The Information and Propaganda Service headed by Police Inspector Cutseau had the task of spreading the defeatism of Petain. Many shameless writers brazenly praised the French fascists' slogans of "Franco-Viet renaissance" and the "national revolution."

The Decoux government hunted down revolutionaries and even persons whom they suspected of sympathizing with the revolution. This government had the Trotskyites establish the Han Thuyen Publishing House, which printed a series of books entitled "The New Culture" and a journal entitled "The New Literary Debate" to publicly distort Marxism.

The danger posed by this publishing house was that it used the false Marxism of the Trotskyites to attack the genuine Marxism of the Indochinese Communist Party. The Trotskyites employed an arbitrary and crude brand of materialism in combination with the remnants of many different European bourgeois philosophies to oppose the revolutionary movement. Practicing deception through quotations drawn from eastern and western books, they distorted historic truth and even went to the point of defending the aggressors, considering their acts of aggression to be consistent with the laws of development of mankind. At a time when all our people were making every effort to prepare for an uprising and throw off the yoke of the country-robbers, they were preaching that when aggressors conquer other nations, they create the conditions for these nations to reach a higher level of civilization. According to them, the uprising led by the two Trung Sisters met with defeat because Vietnam was under a matriarchy at that time, a matriarchy that could not have won victory over China and led to the feudal system (see the book: "The Trung Sisters' Uprising" by Nguyen Te My, a notorious Trotskyite!).

The government was bringing back vestiges of the past at a time when the revolution demanded that the heroic and patriotic tradition of the nation of Vietnam be upheld. They slandered our party, calling it a bourgeois nationalist, reformist party at a time when our party's slogans were national liberation and national salvation.

To help the various strata of youths and intellectuals escape the dangerous influences of the fascist clique and their lackeys and guide them toward the path of national salvation, the party had to expose these attempts at deception and these reactionary points of view.

The antagonism between the Japanese and French fascists and all our people became increasingly deep and gradually led to a clear division among Vietnamese intellectuals. Some intellectuals, responding to the appeal of the party, participated in revolutionary activities. A small number of intellectuals took the side of the aggressors and served as their lackeys. Between these two groups of intellectuals was the broad stratum of intellectuals who, although they did not consent to cooperate with the Japanese and French, fell into a state of confusion, indecision, pessimism and skepticism as a result of the limitations imposed by their world view. These persons ran from the cruel and painful reality unfolding before their eyes. Some turned to the past in search of consolation in the teachings of the East, from Confucius and Mencius to Lao and Trang and western teachings from Plato and Aristotle to Descartes, Bacon, Freud and so forth. Some persons sought consolation in religions and wrote poems and prose on Buddha, Jesus and Mohammed or dreamed in vain and lamented their plight in the style of French romanticism. Some writers became surrealists in search of the mystical and metaphysical. Others assumed decadent lifestyles and produced deranged

"works" to pass away the days. Some scientists immersed themselves in "research," considering themselves to not be involved in politics or the current situation. None of these persons saw the future of the country or their own responsibility.

The party looked for every way to enlighten these broad strata and guide them toward the glorious path of the revolution.

On 25 February 1943, in the face of the situation described above, a conference of the Standing Committee of our Party Central Committee observed:

"The party must have cadres who specialize in cultural activities in order to generate a progressive cultural movement, a national salvation cultural movement against the declining fascist culture. In such cultural centers as Hanoi, Saigon, Hue and so forth, we must establish national salvation cultural organizations and employ both overt and quasi-overt forms of activity to unite artists, writers and intellectuals..."

It was in the face of these pressing requirements that the "Thesis on the Vietnamese Cultural Revolution"(1943) was adopted.

In summary, our party has always considered culture to be an extremely important front in the revolutionary struggle, a front on which communists must brandish their banner. In the face of the threat of our country's culture being thrown into chains, being deceived and suppressed and for the sake of national liberation, of the destiny of our country's culture, the party realized that it was necessary to awaken and gain the support of intellectuals and all other persons engaged in cultural activities, necessary to launch a widespread struggle on the cultural front to oppose the cultural demagoguery and enslavement of the fascists and colonialists and defeat erroneous and harmful cultural trends in order to win back national independence and move forward to build the new culture of Vietnam. The Cultural Thesis was an effective ideological weapon in the hands of the Vietnamese militants on the cultural front.

2. The basic contents of the Vietnamese Cultural Thesis.

Dear Comrades,

The Vietnamese Cultural Thesis was not a long thesis and was, moreover, a thesis that was limited in many respects because it was written under clandestine circumstances. The Party Central Committee lacked all the conditions needed to thoroughly research the various matters related to the Vietnamese cultural revolution. For example, the ideological revolution was dealt with very briefly, the matter of molding the new, socialist Vietnamese man was not mentioned and so forth. However, the cultural revolution did represent the fundamentals of Vietnamese culture under the light of Marxism-Leninism and under the existing circumstances of the Vietnamese revolution at that time.

To begin with, the thesis dealt directly with the issue of culture. Culture is the field that reflects the entirety of social life within the

consciousness of man and is broadly expressed in ideology, education and art. Culture always plays the important role in stimulating or restraining the development of society. Clearly aware of this special importance, the party adopted the policy of uniting the persons engaged in cultural work and helping them to make progress, to become conscious militants at their positions within the revolution.

Concerning the relationship between culture and economics and politics, the thesis pointed out: "The economic foundation of a society and the economic system built on this foundation determine the entire culture of society."

Culture, a part of the superstructure, is always closely linked to the infrastructure and competently supports it. In a society built upon a foundation of private ownership of the instruments of production, the ruling class, as a result of controlling the main instruments of production, engages in economic exploitation, political suppression and cultural enslavement. Thus, the struggle between the working people and the ruling exploiting class is always a very sharp struggle in all three fields: economics, politics and culture.

In their activities on the cultural front, communists had to unite with the mass of Vietnamese intellectuals and, together with them, use each of the strengths of culture to support economic, political and cultural objectives, support the objectives of "independence, freedom and happiness."

Our country was a colonial and semi-feudal agricultural country. With this socio-political base as their starting point, our people had to carry out two consecutive revolutions: the people's national democratic revolution (called the new democratic revolution at that time) and then the socialist revolution. Each of these revolutions had to be carried out in all three fields: politics, economics and culture.

The thesis advanced the basic viewpoint concerning the cultural revolution and pointed out the close relationship among the political revolution, the economic revolution and the cultural revolution. The political revolution had to win victory first in order to establish the conditions needed for the success of the economic revolution and the cultural revolution. Marxists consider the foremost objectives to be: toppling the ruling class and putting political power into the hands of the people. Only under these political conditions could the people build the new economy and establish the new culture. Of course, in the course of revolutionary activities, the publication of materials on the cultural revolution and uprisings by the masses to confiscate economic, cultural and social institutions from the ruling exploiters usually occurred before or at the same time as the political revolution.

In view of our country's circumstances at that time, our immediate task was to topple the Japanese and French fascists and establish the people's democratic state, as this was the only way that we could then successfully implement the economic and cultural policies based on the platform of the party.

In keeping with this spirit, the thesis pointed out: "The methods proposed now for carrying out cultural reform are only designed to clear the way for a thorough revolution later." On the other hand, "the national liberation revolution of Vietnam can--even under the best circumstances--only make Vietnamese culture a democratic, national and totally independent culture, only establish a new culture." This new culture would not be a socialist culture. A socialist culture was an objective of the subsequent socialist revolution.

The tasks of the cultural revolution in the two revolutions mentioned above were similar in some respects and different in others. They were similar because both of these revolutions have the objective of establishing an independent, free culture. Their dissimilarities lie in the fact that during the people's national democratic revolution, establishing a people's, democratic culture (or new democratic culture) is the objective while, in the socialist revolution, the objective is to establish a socialist culture which, as defined by the 3rd National Congress of the Party (1960), is a culture that is socialist in content and national in nature, a culture that reflects the spirit of the party and is profoundly popular.

Thus, in terms of culture, the people's national democratic revolution primarily had the objectives of national independence, a people's democracy, a new democratic culture (not a socialist culture). In the socialist revolution, the main objectives are national independence, a socialist democracy and a socialist culture. The new democratic culture was a stage of transition to the socialist culture.

Through the basic observations mentioned above, the Cultural Thesis presented the major principles of the new Vietnamese culture campaign, principles that were consistent with the requirements of the people's national democratic revolution. This was a revolution that had the task of toppling the imperialists, liberating the nation, abolishing feudalism and winning the right of ownership for the working people. The culture supporting this revolution had to be a national, scientific and mass culture.

Our cultural campaign, therefore, had to be based on three principles, that is, it had to be a national cultural campaign, a scientific cultural campaign and a mass cultural campaign. These three principles were the objective requirements of the people's national democratic revolution in our country.

1. National meant that we had to "oppose each attempt at cultural enslavement and each colonial influence and enable Vietnamese culture to develop in an independent manner."(2)

In the nearly 100 years that they ruled Vietnam, the French colonialists imported to our country the negative factors of French bourgeois and imperialist culture. They extolled the prosperity and power of France, praised the colonial policy of the French bourgeoisie and sowed the seeds of respect and admiration for France among Vietnamese intellectuals. Because they worshipped French culture, many intellectuals moved into French communities, spoke French and made fools of themselves by imitating the French in everything from their eating habits and style of dress to their decadent,

pleasure-seeking lifestyle. This worship of the French led to a mentality of national inferiority and contempt for the national culture. Some persons knew nothing about the patriotic tradition, the heroic character, the diligent, creative labor and the noble qualities of our nation in its several thousand year history.

National meant putting culture directly in support of the cause of national liberation so that intellectuals became filled with pride and bravery and assumed their responsibility in the cause of liberating the nation, liberating the fatherland, establishing and developing the new Vietnamese culture.

2. Scientific meant "opposing everything that made culture contrary to science and against progress."(3)

Vietnam is an agricultural country whose development was stagnated for many years under the feudal system and under the severe influence of feudal thinking. Idealist, mystical and metaphysical viewpoints of feudal and colonial culture, which have persisted for many years, continue to control the thoughts and actions of many strata of the people. Their backward and conservative nature is still quite evident in the customs and habits of society and the daily lifestyle of each person. The French colonialists, instead of abolishing feudal culture, maintained, restored, and developed it, turning it into a means for implementing their policy of demagoguery.

Scientific meant creating the conditions for the new democratic culture to rapidly free itself from this control in order to achieve comprehensive development based in science. It took Marxism-Leninism as the compass guiding each thought and action. It removed from the mind of each person all prejudice, all bad customs, all superstitions.

3. Being a mass culture meant "opposing each policy and action designed to use culture against the broad masses or take it far away from them."(4)

In a colony in which there were still many remnants of feudalism as was the case with our country back then, large numbers of people, especially workers and peasants, were illiterate and unable to enjoy the essence of the culture of the nation and mankind. Literature, music, art and the other genre of culture were not being used to serve the people, only to serve the ruling class. Generally speaking, the laboring masses had been denied access to cultural life.

The new culture had to be a culture of the people, a culture that served the people, a culture that taught everyone to read and write, that educated everyone and enabled them to enjoy and participate in the creation of art while gradually acquiring the spiritual values created by the nation and mankind.

The three principles mentioned above were three factors that were closely interrelated and had an impact upon one another. Each was designed to combat one of the "three faults, the three serious maladies of contemporary Vietnamese culture: anti-national, anti-scientific and anti-popular (as emphasized in the article entitled "The Major Principles of the New Vietnamese

Cultural Campaign at This Time"). Only by overcoming these faults, these maladies, was it possible to develop the new, genuine culture of Vietnam.

The crux of the issue was this: a national culture that was not scientific or popular in nature could, as a result of the selfish and bigoted interests of the nation, quite possibly develop counter to the evolution of history and attempt to cling to outmoded customs and practices of the nation without giving special attention to the fervent aspirations of workers and peasants, who represent the majority of the nation and are its most diligent and patriotic sons and daughters.

A culture that was scientific but not national or popular in nature could quite possibly serve the science of the enemy by putting its talents to use serving the interests of the rulers, betraying the interests of the people and opposing national independence and world peace.

A culture that was popular in nature but not national or scientific would become bigoted and only have its eyes set upon the interests of workers and peasants, not the interests of the nation in order to bring the war of resistance to victory. Or, it would become the follower of the masses instead of giving them increasing political awareness, increasing knowledge of science and technology for application in their production, combat and daily lives.(5)

Another matter in the nature of a principle that was frequently stressed in the thesis was the leadership role of the party. With the stand of the working class as its stand and Marxism-Leninism as its philosophy, only the party could lead the Vietnamese cultural revolution down the correct path and to ultimate victory. The Indochinese Communist Party and the Vietnamese working class never shared their right to lead with any other party or class! This was a matter of principle.

As regards the organizing of revolutionary cultural mass organizations, the party cited the need to establish and develop the Vietnam National Salvation Cultural Association and accept into it all persons engaged in cultural work, education and science, including writers and artists. Depending upon circumstances, the National Salvation Cultural Association could be established as chapters (or even cells) of a specific cultural circle, such as teachers, writers, artists, musicians, etc. Students were organized separately within the National Salvation Students Association. In actuality, however, from 1943 until the August Revolution, we only attached importance to organizing the National Salvation Cultural Association itself; not much was done to organize chapters and cells for each specific cultural sector.

On the basis of the general spirit and content present above, we see that the Cultural Thesis embodied the thoroughly revolutionary spirit of the Indochinese Communist Party and the Vietnamese working class. The thesis competently supported the United National Front policy and the policy of establishing broad national unity, rallying patriotic and progressive forces and isolating the enemy in order to topple them and achieve the objectives of the revolution.

The importance of the Cultural Thesis was that it presented, at a rather early date, the general guidelines for the Vietnamese cultural revolution and described the position of the cultural revolution within Vietnam's revolution as a whole. In addition to the task of joining with all the people to liberate the nation and win independence and freedom, the thesis also gave to the intellectuals, writers and artists of Vietnam the sacred mission of liberating our culture and establishing the new Vietnamese culture. In so doing, it heightened the spirit of responsibility of our country's intellectuals as militants on the cultural front building a new culture and actively contributing to the liberation of the nation, the establishment of a new Vietnam. This is the Vietnam that started as a people's democracy and is today socialist Vietnam. At the same time, the intellectuals of our country have helped to mold the new Vietnamese who loves the country and socialism and possesses both the spirit and the ability to build and defend the fatherland, to protect peace and life on our planet.

In view of the contents of the thesis, it should have more accurately been called the Thesis on the Vietnamese Ideological and Cultural Revolution.

3. The impact and influence of the Vietnamese Cultural Thesis over the past 40 years.

Dear Comrades,

Forty years have passed since the adoption of the Vietnamese Cultural Thesis. Under the leadership of the party, headed by President Ho, our people overcame countless difficulties and recorded large achievements in all fields: politics, military affairs, economics, culture and so forth. Our party has creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to correctly resolve many complex problems raised by the revolution, especially at each turning point in history.

It is necessary to emphasize the especially important role played by President Ho in our country's culture, literature and art. An outstanding political activist and the father and great leader of the Vietnamese revolution, he was, at the same time, a writer, a poet, a journalist whose life was closely linked to the cause of the Vietnamese revolution and the world revolution, in general, and to the Vietnamese cultural revolution, in particular. His works are a priceless storehouse of ideology and culture that Vietnamese revolutionaries and Vietnamese cultural activists must thoroughly study in order to apply this knowledge in their creative labor.

It is my hope that, in our study of theory and ideology, we soon establish a section to research everything about President Ho Chi Minh, about every aspect of his life, including his contributions to the ideological and cultural revolution.

Prior to the August Revolution (1945), the Cultural Thesis had the impact of awakening and attracting many persons working in the fields of culture, literature and art to the path of the revolution. In 1945, with the success of the August Revolution, political power was put into the hands of the people. This provided us with a basic advantage for rebuilding our country in every respect, including culturally.

Meanwhile, however, very complex political developments were occurring. The reactionary forces were conducting intense activities to oppose and undermine the revolution. The Nhat Linh and Khai Hung factions had embraced the enemy Jiang and the Trotskyites Truong Tuu and Nguyen Duc Quynh (within the Han Thuyen group) openly stated their disapproval of the party's cultural line. Realizing that they no longer played a key political or even cultural role, some bourgeois intellectuals expressed their dissatisfaction and did not endorse the thesis. Due to their limited awareness and the fact that they did not have a deep understanding of the Cultural Thesis, many writers that were once sympathetic to the revolution vacillated and wavered.

At that time, although our party was busy resolving many difficult and complex domestic and foreign, military and economic issues, it attached special importance from the very outset to broadening the unity among Vietnamese intellectuals, writers and artists and promoting cultural activities. One week after delivering the declaration of independence, President Ho signed the decree establishing the Mass Education Service. In the space of slightly more than 1 year, 2 million once illiterate persons learned to read and write.

The National Salvation Cultural Association redoubled its efforts. The cadres of the party continuously wrote articles criticizing reactionary viewpoints concerning culture and art. Political books and newspapers were published at an unprecedented rate. The propaganda and educational activities of the party were very strong and highly effective. Large numbers of intellectuals had confidence in President Ho and the Indochinese Communist Party. We will always remember the heartfelt words spoken by Uncle Ho to cultural activists at the ceremony opening the cultural exhibit on 7 October 1945. He said: "Today, before we begin to build the country, we must experience yet another period of agonizing and difficult struggle. The cultural circle must join with the other circles of our compatriots in making this passage. It is hoped that you are trying, and please always try, to join your compatriots in bringing the country to its glorious fulfillment."(6)

In November, 1946, the 1st National Cultural Conference was convened in Hanoi. President Ho, on behalf of the government, delivered the opening address. He pointed out that the tasks of the new culture were to reflect subjects relating to the happiness of compatriots and the struggle of the nation while incorporating the valuable experiences of ancient and modern culture in order to establish the new, Vietnamese, national, scientific and mass culture. He said: culture must guide the nation in achieving independence, self-reliance and sovereignty.

When the nationwide war of resistance broke out, President Ho's hope was fulfilled. Practically all of the intellectuals who followed the party, followed the Viet Minh Front into the liberated zone to participate in the war of resistance continued to struggle with steadfast purpose and rejected without a second thought the attempts by the enemy to lure them back to the cities. The greatest difficulty facing intellectuals was not their material life during the war of resistance, but the vague viewpoints, the backward ideas and the mistaken prejudices that continued to follow and shackle them. If we did not help writers and artists free themselves from every influence of

the old culture and old ideas, the cultural tasks in the war of resistance could not have been successfully carried out.

In July, 1948, the 2nd National Cultural Conference was convened. President Ho wrote a letter to the conference reminding cultural activists of the need to tightly organize and work among the masses in order to bear an important portion of the burden of the great war of resistance for national salvation.

On that occasion, I presented to the conference a report entitled "Marxism and Vietnamese Culture" in order to discuss more deeply the fundamental viewpoints advanced by the party in the Cultural Thesis. The report presented the strengths and weaknesses of Vietnamese culture and reminded the conferees to bring a scientific attitude toward the work of abolishing the backward, outmoded aspects and incorporating the good and progressive aspects of the culture inherited from ancient times and brought from foreign countries. The report also further clarified the matters concerning the nature and tasks of the new democratic culture; at the same time, it contributed ideas toward resolving a number of specific problems, such as the relationship between art and propaganda, the characteristics of socialist realist art, the need for literary criticism, etc.

Following the 2nd Cultural Conference, the 1st National Literature and Art Congress was held. The Vietnam Literature and Art Association was established. Carefully studying the cultural line of the party, intellectuals saw the need to revolutionize their thinking and begin conducting activities of a mass nature.

With this, literary and art troupes began to accompany soldiers into battle, into areas under enemy control. Strong literary and art activities were conducted in each field: musical concerts, plays, painting exhibits, the publishing of books and magazines, especially wall posters... Among the people, an intense cultural movement arose. Illiteracy was wiped out among practically all of the compatriots in the liberated zone. All of the soldiers of our army learned to read and write and, as a result, matured rapidly in politics, military affairs and civilian proselyting. The new lifestyle movement was promoted. Uncle Ho's books "Changing Work Methods" and "The New Lifestyle" had a very large and practical impact, changing the thinking and style of cadres and eradicating bad customs among the people, especially in the countryside.

In February, 1951, the 2nd National Congress of the Party was held amidst an international situation and domestic situation marked by many important changes. Our people's resistance was winning more victories with each passing day. President Ho's "Political Report" reviewed the entire process of our party's leadership of the revolution, confirmed the correctness of the party's line and defined the main tasks of the Vietnamese revolution at that time.

In the "Report on the Vietnamese Revolution," I presented to the congress the entire line on carrying out the people's national democratic revolution and advancing to the socialist revolution in Vietnam. In the section on the people's democratic culture, the report once again confirmed the national,

scientific and mass nature of this culture; at the same time, it presented the specifics of the cultural and educational policy of our party during that revolution: organizing and mobilizing each cultural force and carrying out literary, artistic, scientific and technical development. For the first time ever, the report presented the main points of the new democratic ethics: understanding the obligations and rights of the citizen; serving the people and being responsible to them; knowing how to love and hate correctly: loving the country and the people, hating the imperialists and traitors; loving work and science, hating parasites and exploiters; possessing the proletarian international spirit, etc.

Along with our increasingly large military victories, cultural circles made more than a small contribution to the glorious victory of Dien Bien Phu and the liberation of one-half of the country.

Following the Geneva Convention, we entered a new stage of the revolution, the stage of building socialism in the North while struggling to liberate the South. The North advanced to the socialist revolution while the South continued to carry out the people's national democratic revolution to liberate the compatriots of the South from the neo-colonialism of the U.S. imperialists and bring about the peaceful reunification of the country.

With the completion of agrarian reform in the North, we permanently abolished the feudal system and implemented the slogan "land to the tiller." Economic transformation and construction were carried out at the same time as cultural transformation and development. Schools, from general schools to colleges, were expanded. Education was oriented toward developing the young generation into laborers who were the masters of the country, who possessed a love of country and socialism, were educated in culture, science and technology and possessed good health.

Scientific and technological development was strongly promoted in a manner closely linked to production and national defense. Scientific research facilities were gradually established within the State Science Commission and at the colleges. The press, information, propaganda and publishing agencies became effective weapons of the working class and laboring people on the ideological and cultural front. Public health, physical culture and sports were widely developed.

Literature and art assumed an increasingly important position within the socialist revolution. The three national literature and art congresses held in 1957, 1962 and 1968 were given special attention by President Ho and the Party Central Committee.

The 2nd National Literature and Art Congress was held in February, 1957, at a time when the Humanism-Masterpieces group was distorting and attacking the line of the party, not only in the field of ideology and culture, but also in the field of economics and politics. We were not surprised that the enemy used every change in the situation and task as an opportunity to attack our party.

The congress studied the letter from the Party Central Committee in which it presented the shortcomings of the agencies that guided literature and art and presented the guidelines of socialist literature and art. President Ho addressed the congress, reminding those in attendance to cultivate proper thinking, cultivate their artistic talent, become one of the masses and keep abreast of reality.

At that congress, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, I delivered a report entitled "Striving for a Rich National Literature and Art under the Banner of Patriotism and Socialism." The report dealt with many new matters that had arisen in the light of the new situation since the adoption of the Cultural Thesis. In addition to matters that required further discussion, such as politics and art, criticism of literature and art, creative freedom, upholding the fine tradition of the Humanism-Masterpieces group, who separated literature and art from politics, opposed the party's leadership, discredited our system and so forth. Here, we differentiated between reactionaries and those writers and artists who, as a result of wavering in the face of a number of social issues, had not established a course for themselves to follow and who were under the influence of bourgeois thinking, spoke in an irresponsible way about art and freedom.

In September, 1960, our party convened its 3rd National Congress, which set forth guidelines and tasks designed to advance the North to socialism and struggle for the reunification of the country. Regarding the cultural revolution, the party emphasized the need to teach Marxism-Leninism and, during that congress, it established the need to "develop a new literature and art of socialist content and national nature, a literature and art that reflect party consciousness and are profoundly popular." (7)

In November, 1962, in keeping with the spirit of the resolution of the 3rd Party Congress, the 3rd National Literature and Art Congress was held. The Party Central Committee sent a letter to the congress and President Ho attended and met with the writers and artists there. The Party Central Committee emphasized: "In view of all the achievements that have been recorded, the literature and art of the North at this time are a socialist literature and art which, although still young, have displayed abundant vitality and are filled with promise." (8) President Ho gave writers and artists the task of producing "works worthy of our glorious age." In a speech to the congress, I emphasized: increase the display of party consciousness and become deeply involved in the new life in order to serve the people, serve the revolution better (this idea was expressed as the title of the speech).

At the 4th National Literature and Art Congress held in January, 1968, a letter from the Party Central Committee highly praised the creative achievements of literature and art during the intervening years in both the South and the North; at the same time, it observed that the major shortcoming of writers and artists at that time was that "the thinking and feelings of many writers and artists are not at the level of the thinking of the party and the feelings of the masses."

In my speech to that congress, I reviewed the literature and art line of the party and presented the basic viewpoints concerning the militancy, the popular nature and the national nature of literature and art; concerning the goal of literature and art of molding the new man; concerning the selective incorporation of the very best aspects of the culture of the nation and the world; concerning the socialist realist method; concerning the bright prospects of our country's culture, literature and art, etc.

The cultural activities of the party had led to tremendous achievements in literature, art, education, science, public health, physical culture, sports, the formation of the new lifestyle and the training of the corps of socialist intellectuals, thereby making large contributions to the performance of our two strategic tasks: building socialism in the North and struggling to liberate the South and reunify the country.

Following the Geneva Conference in 1954, South Vietnam was turned into a new style colony and military base of the U.S. imperialists. Our compatriots in the South were forced to live under the merciless rule of the Americans and puppets. The enemy used every ideological and cultural sector, such as philosophy, literature, art, education and religion, and every media, such as the press, radio, television and so forth, as psychological warfare tools to deceive the people, oppose socialism in the North and oppose the liberation of the South and the unification of Vietnam.

The cultural activities of the Americans and the puppets in the South generally developed in the following three different periods:

a) In the beginning, the U.S. imperialists used every form of culture to make themselves appear to be nationalists. Some remnants of theology and humanism were combined to form an absurd and reactionary philosophy called spiritual humanism. Special favor was shown to the Catholic Church. The development of the other religions was also encouraged. All sorts of superstitious beliefs were restored and widely encouraged to serve as means for deceiving and enslaving the people. The Americans and puppets extolled the thinking of the East, from Confucius and Mencius to Lao, Trang and Buddha. The most conservative aspects of feudal and bourgeois ethics were praised. The press, literature, art and radio stations were used to mount a widespread campaign to oppose the Soviet Union, distort communism, sully the war of resistance and discredit socialism in the North.

b) The collapse of Ngo Dinh Diem in 1963 dealt a heavy blow to the nationalist illusion and created an atmosphere of panic and despair among the strata that had been blindly following the Americans and puppets. Large numbers of youths and intellectuals, having lost their confidence, either turned to the North and the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam or fell into frustration, pessimism and despair.

The nihilism of Buddhism and the tiresome, negative thinking of existentialist philosophy inundated culture, literature and art, becoming the sedative of those who were weak and soft. The enemy made every effort to encourage this culture because it had the effect of undermining the confidence of youths and intellectuals, the vain purpose of which was to extinguish their patriotism

and love of their race and neutralize each feeling of hatred of the people toward the aggressors as well as the people's determination to resist them.

c) The U.S. imperialists then sent troops to wage a limited war in South Vietnam. At that time, the cultural policy of the enemy was to make a renewed effort to corrupt the souls and emotions of Vietnamese youths by importing the American lifestyle, a cruel, pleasure-seeking and decadent lifestyle. U.S. goods and dollars poured into the South. Dance halls, drug dens, restaurants, "nightclubs" and brothels sprung up like mushrooms. All of these were designed to lead youths into an immoral life, a life without ideals, a life without a fatherland, a life in which they were ready to take up arms and shoot their compatriots for the sake of their pleasure-seeking lifestyle!

The cultural activities of the enemy had very serious effects upon the cultural and spiritual lives of large numbers of our youths and people. The following few figures offer sufficient proof of the enemy's evil methods and the extensive harm caused by the enemy's culture.

In 1973, there were 450,000 television sets in South Vietnam. In Saigon, there were 45 daily newspapers, 30 magazines and 150 publishing houses. In the space of 20 years, the South imported 7,500 feature films from the United States, Hong Kong and the countries of western Europe, the majority of which were anti-communist and pornographic. To encourage the various religions, the Asian Culture agency of the United States adopted a plan to train 20,000 priests and nuns in the United States.

The regular maintenance of 1 million puppet troops, 120,000 policemen and 300,000 public servants together with their relatives resulted in 6 million to 7 million persons living on wages paid by the Americans.

The neo-colonialist system left behind in the South following liberation day some 3 million unemployed persons, more than 1 million disabled persons, 800,000 orphans, 600,000 prostitutes and more than 1 million youths and teenagers who were addicted to heroin and other narcotics.(9)

In the face of the danger posed by the enemy's cultural policy, our people within the zone controlled by the enemy waged struggles against the neo-colonialist culture to protect our national culture and the dignity of man. Together with spreading the influence of revolutionary culture into the occupied zone, our party was very concerned with the various movements and legitimate organizations of the masses on the cultural front, such as the "Council for the Spiritual Protection of Youths and Teenagers," the "Force To Defend National Culture," the "Association for the Protection of the Dignity and Rights of Women," the movement demanding "instruction in Vietnamese on the college level," the movement demanding "autonomy for colleges," etc.

In particular, mention must be made of the work of the Liberation Literature and Art Association and the other cultural activities that were conducted under the leadership of the party and in accordance with its line on culture, literature and art. Within the liberated zone in the South, literature and art played a large role in educating and motivating cadres, troops and the

people to make every effort to resist the Americans and puppets; at the same time, they exerted a positive influence within the occupied cities.

The heroic struggle of the army and people of the South and the North led to the great victory of the general offensive and uprising of the spring of 1975, the total liberation of the South and the reunification of the country and brought the entire country into the period of transition to socialism.

Dear Comrades,

During the past 40 years, the Cultural Thesis has been part of our lives, has helped to bring about profound revolutionary changes within our country. A new, socialist culture possessed of strong vitality is solidifying the new changes that have occurred within the thinking, feelings, intellect and ethics of our people today.

In this new stage, we have become even more aware of the special importance of the ideological and cultural revolution as a component of the nationwide socialist revolution.

II. The Ideological and Cultural Revolution During the Period of Transition to Socialism in Our Country

1. The ideological and cultural revolution, an integral part of the socialist revolution.

Dear Comrades,

Following the great victory in the spring of 1975, our country became an independent and united country. The entire country is now in the period of transition to socialism.

Our party has observed that the conclusion of the people's national democratic revolution led by the working class marked the start of the socialist revolution. It also marked the start of the period of transition to socialism, the period of the arduous and bitter struggle to resolve the question "who will triumph over whom" that exists between socialism and capitalism.

In actuality, the development of our country's revolution has been more complicated than this. In our country, the North was liberated in 1954; therefore, it began the socialist revolution and entered the period of transition to socialism more than 20 years before the South did. In 1975, when the South was totally liberated, the North was still in the period of transition to socialism. It was not until then that this period began in the South. It was also then that the two regions of our country were united, not only in terms of territory, but also in terms of revolutionary tasks: carrying out the socialist revolution and the transition to socialism together, carrying out socialist transformation and socialist construction together.

The transition to socialism, without experiencing the stage of capitalist development as is the case in our country, entails a process of profound and thorough revolutionary change in each field of social life. Here, we gain an even deeper appreciation of the words of Lenin: "Because of the vagaries of history, the more backward a country is when it begins the socialist revolution, the more difficulties it will encounter in making the shift from the old, capitalist relations to socialist relations."(10)

As a result of the historical circumstances described above, the socialist revolution in our country is a process of building the new from the bottom upward: from production relations to production forces, from the infrastructure to the superstructure. The general line for the period of transition to socialism that was adopted at the 4th Congress of the Party and amended and developed at the 5th Congress fully reflects this viewpoint.

The targets set forth in the general line are: building the dictatorship of the proletariat state, establishing the system of socialist collective ownership, building large-scale, socialist production, establishing the new culture and molding the new, socialist man. These are the factors of a new society. Lacking any one of these factors, socialism cannot be established.

These targets must be achieved by firmly maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat, upholding the right of collective ownership of the laboring people and simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions: the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution.

These three revolutions are closely linked to and have an effect upon each other. The purpose of the production relations revolution is to open the way for the development of production forces, promote the scientific-technological revolution and effectively carry out the ideological and cultural revolution. The scientific-technological revolution not only creates the material-technical bases of socialism, but is also designed to strengthen and perfect socialist production relations and stimulate the ideological and cultural revolution. The ideological and cultural revolution competently supports the production relations revolution and the scientific-technological revolution; at the same time, the achievements recorded in the other two revolutions make positive contributions to stimulating the ideological and cultural revolution in order to establish the new culture and mold the new, socialist man.

Thus, the entirety of socialism as well as each component of socialism can only come into existence through the combined results of all three of the revolutions described above.

Through the creative application of Marxism-Leninism, our party has set forth the line on the Vietnamese revolution, in general, and the line on the Vietnamese ideological and cultural revolution, in particular. We consider the ideological and cultural revolution to be an integral part of the entire socialist revolution within our country. We cannot wait until we have established strong, solid socialist production relations and highly developed material-technical bases to carry out the ideological and cultural revolution, rather, this revolution can be carried out at the same time and, under the

dictatorship of the proletariat, it is even possible, within a certain scope, to establish the new culture and mold the new, socialist man first.

Ideology and culture exert their dynamism in every revolution. However, they exert even greater dynamism within the socialist revolution, especially against the background of a backward economy that is bypassing the capitalist stage of development and advancing directly to socialism. Socialist ideology and culture are not only the results, but also the forces behind the birth of the system of socialist collective ownership, the system of large-scale socialist production, the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, the abolition of poverty and backwardness.

2. The advantages and difficulties of the ideological and cultural revolution in our country.

Today, we are carrying out the ideological and cultural revolution under very favorable conditions. The country is independent and united and the entire country is advancing to socialism together. Our party's general line and its line on the ideological and cultural revolution are both correct and creative. The Party Central Committee gives constant attention to leading ideological and cultural work. We have a steadfast corps of persons engaged in theoretical work, ideological work and cultural work who have wholeheartedly followed the party for several decades. We have fine and long-standing national cultural traditions. We have selectively incorporated achievements of the progressive socialist culture of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist country.

As a result, we have recorded achievements very deserving of pride within the field of ideology and culture over the past several years.

In education, we have developed a widespread national education system encompassing all grades, from the lowest to the very highest, a system that has helped train a corps of new and qualified workers. The education sector has supplied to our country's economy and national defense system scientific and technical cadres, management and professional cadres and youths who are well educated and in good health, thereby meeting the requirements involved in building and defending the fatherland.

Education is beginning to change in accordance with the educational reform guidelines set forth at the 4th Congress of the Party. Today, the number of children attending child care centers and kindergartens has reached 3 million and there are nearly 14 million general school students and nearly 200,000 college students.

In the South, we quickly transformed the American-puppet education system and brought it within the sphere of socialism. We have laid the foundations of the revolutionary education system, standardized programs of instruction throughout the country, opened more schools for children of the laboring people, developed pre-school, general school and college level education and promoted supplementary education.

Deserving of attention is the fact that we have been and are taking positive steps to effectively transform hoodlums, prostitutes, vagrants and so forth into laborers.

The achievements that have been recorded in education are a source of legitimate pride for our system. They reflect efforts to fully achieve the target of training new, socialist persons, training laborers who exercise collective ownership and possess patriotism and love of socialism.

In culture and art, we have continuously conducted many spirited activities that have had a good effect in improving the cultural and spiritual lives of the people. In the field of cultural and artistic creativity, a number of works of value have emerged during the past several years, works that have helped to mold the new way of thinking, the new feelings. A number of works have been awarded international prizes. Clearly, progress has been made in transforming the culture and establishing the new culture in accordance with the guidelines of socialism.

Professional art activities, the mass literature and art movement, information services, motivational activities, exhibits, the publication of books, newspapers and so forth have made significant contributions to propagandizing the lines and policies of the party and state, teaching the fine traditions of the nation and effectively struggling against backward customs and habits, against the decadent, reactionary, slave culture. Culture and art have made positive contributions to the establishment of the new culture and the molding of the new, socialist man within our country.

In science and technology, many important changes have occurred, especially since the adoption of Political Bureau Resolution Number 37 on the science and technology policy. We have successfully applied scientific achievements and technological advances in production, everyday life and national defense activities and have begun to achieve significant returns, such as the establishment of the four-level rice seed system on the basis of achievements recorded in the development of new rice varieties. In industry, science and technology have made advances in the development of new materials, the production of spare parts, the improvement of production procedures and the improvement of technology.

Together with the natural sciences and the technical sciences, the social sciences have directed their efforts toward the pressing problems of political, economic and social life, thereby providing the scientific basis underlying the lines and policies of the party and providing the people with increased knowledge.

To date, we have established a network of research and management agencies in the natural sciences, technical sciences and social sciences consisting of more than 100 research institutes and thousands of other research organizations of the colleges, sectors and localities. The corps of scientific and technical cadres is gradually maturing. We have trained more than 3,000 cadres who have a post-graduate education, more than 180,000 cadres who have a college level education, nearly 70,000 cadres who have an academy

education, more than 470,000 cadres who have a vocational middle school education and more than one-half million technical workers.

Clearly, science and technology have made important contributions to socialist industrialization within our country; they have penetrated practically every field of economic and social life and stimulated the development of production.

In public health, we have established a disease prevention and medical treatment network that extends from the central level all the way down to the hamlets, one that is gradually meeting the health care and medical treatment needs of the people. The most significant achievements of our country's public health system have been the success achieved in preventing and extinguishing epidemics and social diseases and the high degree of success achieved in the treatment of a number of diseases, success that has been recognized internationally. We quickly unified the organization of the public health sector and launched a mass movement to practice disease prevention hygiene under the guideline "the state and the people working together, the central level and the locality working together." On the other hand, we have steadfastly adhered to the guideline of combining modern medicine with the traditional medicine of the nation in safeguarding the health of the people and providing medical treatment for their illnesses. In the South, the most significant achievement has been our effective efforts against a number of social diseases and social ills, such as syphilis, leprosy, prostitution, heroin addiction and addiction to other narcotics, all of them harmful products of the American-puppet system, efforts that have brought new lives to hundreds of thousands of persons.

As regards physical culture and sports, we have developed these two areas of activity into a unified, nationwide movement and widely developed physical culture and sport activities at schools, agencies, and enterprises, in the cities and the countryside, even in remote, wilderness areas. By doing so, we have made positive contributions to improving the health of the people, teaching the fine qualities of the new, socialist man and meeting the requirements involved in building and defending the fatherland.

The achievements described above have created favorable circumstances for us to carry out the ideological and cultural revolution in our country during the period of transition.

However, this revolution is also encountering certain difficulties:

a) At present, small-scale production predominates within our country's economy. The consequences of small-scale production in the cultural and spiritual life of our society are quite serious. Its negative and inhibiting aspects are very profoundly and deeply imprinted in the way of thinking, in the ideology of the small-scale producer and have become the habits and lifestyle endemic to the petty bourgeoisie. Many ethical viewpoints are bound by the very harsh framework of feudal culture and education, such as the disdain for manual labor, the thinking regarding the existence of classes within society, respect for men and disrespect for women, etc.

Having come from a colonial and semi-feudal society, the small-scale producer exhibits many shortcomings and is greatly limited when it comes to thinking, to organizing production and to managing the economy and society. The thinking and outlook of the small-scale producer are generally subjective, onesided, simplistic and shallow. Among small-scale producers, decentralization, fragmentation, liberalism, a lack of organization and a lack of discipline are quite evident. Their partialism, departmentalism and localism are quite entrenched and have posed more than a minor obstacle to the implementation of the lines and policies of the party and the laws of the state.

Today, as we carry out socialist transformation and socialist construction within our country on a broad scale, these negative aspects of the small-scale producer are very evident.

b) Following the total liberation of the South, we were forced to inherit the legacy of the social ills and the remnants of the neo-colonialist culture left behind in the South by the U.S. imperialists. This is not to mention the new plan of the U.S. imperialists to collaborate with the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in a vain effort to oppose and undermine the Vietnamese revolution, especially within the field of ideology and culture.

They have employed high power loudspeakers and many other mass media in a very intense counter-propaganda effort to oppose and attack us. They have looked for every way to import neo-colonialist cultural products to our country in a vain attempt to poison the cultural and spiritual lives of our people and revive the remnants of the neo-colonialist culture that we are continuing to eradicate. During the first 6 months of 1981 alone, more than 500,000 packages and postal items were sent from the capitalist countries to Vietnam, many of which contained reactionary, decadent books, newspapers, films, music tapes and letters. In 1981, in Ho Chi Minh City alone, we discovered and confiscated more than 10,330,000 reactionary, decadent cultural materials sent from the United States, France, Canada, Australia and so forth.

Clearly, the enemy is working every hour of every day to oppose and undermine us in the field of ideology and culture. Reality has made it necessary for our country's ideological and cultural revolution to assume the task of making a continuous effort to sweep away the remnants and influences of the reactionary, decadent culture of neo-colonialism that are having an impact upon our country.

c) Following 30 years of war during which very heavy destruction was inflicted upon our country's economy, our people are encountering very many difficulties in their daily lives. This is also one of the causes of the negative phenomena within the cultural and spiritual life of our society. The economy's small-scale production provides very fertile ground for the cultural remnants of the old society, including the neo-colonialist culture, to take root and attempt to re-establish themselves.

The resolution of the 4th Party Plenum observed: "A segment of society, one that even includes some laborers, manual workers, youths, cadres and party members, has exhibited signs of a serious corruption of moral values and

lifestyle: laziness, sloppy, careless work, thievery, profiteering, smuggling, earning a living illegally, chasing after money and living an extravagant, debauched life." The reactionary, decadent culture of imperialism and neo-colonialism has yet to be swept from the South; moreover, its influence has also spread to the North in very serious ways. The bad customs of the old society have been brought back to life at many places. Generally speaking, the socialist style of life has yet to be universally established within our society.

Within cultural, literary and art activities, there is a "commercial" trend to earn money by pursuing base tastes, a trend that leads to the morass of bourgeois art. Lax leadership and management on the cultural front are exerting negative influences upon the pattern of thinking, the lifestyle and the psychology of society.

Karl Marx said: "In view of the fact that the socialist revolution represents the most thorough break possible from every traditional system of ownership, it would not be at all surprising if, in the course of its historical evolution, it also represents the most thorough break from traditional ideologies." (11) Our country's ideological and cultural revolution in the new stage has the task of liquidating the entire "stockpile" of pernicious cultural and ideological remnants left behind by the old society!

Therefore, making a complete break with traditional ideologies and abolishing every cultural influence and remnant of the old society are a task to which we cannot give light attention simply because we are bypassing the stage of capitalist development.

Within the field of ideology and culture, a decisive struggle is being waged between socialism and capitalism, between ourselves and the enemy. This struggle has been made even more decisive by the fact that the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary powers, are waging an intense, wide-ranging war of sabotage against us. The struggle between socialism and capitalism within the field of ideology and culture must result in victory for the line of the party on this front as well as on the political and economic fronts.

It is necessary to fully adhere to the guideline of coordinating transformation with construction in the ideological and cultural revolution within our country. Experience has shown that wherever and whenever transformation and construction are separated, weaknesses, problems and many negative phenomena arise within the field of ideology and culture.

The process of coordinating transformation and construction is the process of carrying out transformation for the purpose of accelerating construction, carrying out construction for the purpose of accelerating transformation; transformation must include construction and, within construction, although primary emphasis must be placed upon construction, light attention cannot be given to transformation.

In the ideological and cultural revolution, the relationship between building and combating must be maintained in all areas: ideology, culture and the

molding of the new man. In the past, as defined under the Cultural Thesis, culture included ideology. The cultural revolution included the ideological revolution. Today, our party calls this revolution the ideological and cultural revolution in order to stress the especially important position of ideology within the entire cultural revolution.

The Cultural Thesis made no mention of molding the new man. However, to discuss culture is to discuss man. Today, to be more complete, our party talks about establishing the new culture and molding the new man, considering the molding of the new man to be the especially important task of the ideological and cultural revolution.

General Secretary Le Duan said: "The socialist revolution in ideology and culture must be designed to create a rich spiritual and cultural life for everyone, a life consistent with the highest goal of socialism, meeting not only the material needs, but also the growing cultural needs of society. We must make each cultural value an asset of the people and make the people the ones who create each cultural value. Our goal is to build a highly cultured society."(12)

The ideological and cultural revolution within our country at this time must be simultaneously carried out in all three areas: establishing the new thinking, establishing the new culture and molding the new man.

3. The main tasks of the ideological and cultural revolution in our country.

a) Establishing the new thinking.

Marxism-Leninism is the most progressive, most scientific ideology of our times. Our party has always creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to formulate the lines and policies of the Vietnamese revolution. This, the basic and most outstanding ideological achievement of our party, has opened the way for each victory won in the different fields.

Therefore, with regard to establishing the new thinking, it is first of all necessary to propagandize and teach Marxism-Leninism and the lines and policies of the party so that Marxism-Leninism dominates the political and spiritual lives of our people and the lines and policies of the party are thoroughly understood by cadres, party members and the masses. Deviations in the thinking, mistakes in the work of our cadres and party members have, since the very beginning, usually been the result of a failure to fully learn Marxism-Leninism and gain a deep understanding of the party's lines and policies.

Importance must be attached to educating cadres, party members and the masses and deepening their knowledge concerning the period of transition and the struggle between socialism and capitalism so that they are imbued with the thinking behind the socialist transformation of the non-socialist segments of the economy: capitalist agriculture, industry and commerce, small industry, the handicraft trades and small merchants. We must launch a mass movement to successfully complete socialist transformation in the initial stage of the period of transition, establish the socialist production relations and build

the material-technical bases of socialism. To accomplish this, we must cultivate within cadres, party members and the people patriotism and a love of socialism, the thinking and consciousness of collective ownership, the spirit and discipline of socialist labor and so forth.

At the same time, we must vigorously combat every attempt at ideological and cultural sabotage by the imperialists and by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists; combat the bad influences of neo-colonialist thinking and culture; combat bourgeois and petty bourgeois thinking; eradicate the influences of feudal thinking and the corrupt customs of the old society; combat the liberalism, disorganization and backwardness of the small-scale producer; and combat exploitation, speculation, parasitism, misappropriation, theft and the other negative phenomena within society.

Ideological work must give everyone a thorough understanding of the specifics involved in socialist industrialization during the period of transition in our country. It is necessary to criticize and correct erroneous viewpoints and ideas that give light attention to socialist transformation, give light attention to strengthening and improving the socialist production relations.

The focal point of our ideological work must be distribution and circulation, the front on which we are encountering many of our most pressing and acute problems. This is also the front on which many difficulties and negative phenomena are occurring in the decisive struggle between socialism and capitalism. We must resist the tendency to operate on the basis of the market mechanism and endeavor to correct the practice of allowing the market and prices to change in a spontaneous manner free of control by the state. We must strengthen the management of the market and gradually stabilize prices and the standard of living of the people.

Ideological work must be closely linked to economic work. Ideological work lacks content if it divorces itself from the economy and life. A correct economic mechanism, a correct economic policy provide a solid foundation for conducting good ideological work. Mistakes in economic work destroy the foundation needed to perform good ideological work; at the same time, they ruin correct thinking, disrupt thinking and lead to negative thinking. An incorrect understanding of and mistakes regarding the "three interests" and the "three part plan" have had adverse consequences within the economy and caused much confusion within the field of ideology in the recent past.

The pressing problem now faced in our ideological work is the need to truly create the strength of unity of will and action throughout the party, the strength of unity in state management; at the same time, we must tap the initiative and creativity of the installations, localities and sectors, of each laborer. We must continue to combat bureaucratic centralism, red tape, subsidization, conservatism and slowness; at the same time, we must combat liberalism, decentralization, disorganization and localism, which harm the interests of the whole.

On the ideological front, it is necessary to make everyone clearly aware of the reactionary nature and the crafty designs of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists regarding Vietnam, regarding the three countries of Indochina. We

must correct the vague understanding of the hostile nature of the Beijing reactionaries, the U.S. imperialists and the other reactionaries and correct the lack of vigilance against their clever schemes and methods.

Today, many new trends of reactionary thinking are emerging within the world. These include, for example, phenomenology, humanism, existentialism, the theory of convergence, the theory of the consumer society, neo-Thomism, neo-positivism, post-positivism, etc.

Within the international communist movement, revisionism, "Euro-communism," Maoism and so forth have emerged.

The social sciences of Vietnam must research, analyze and criticize these manifestations of opportunism, must take the initiative in attacking and denouncing these tides of reactionary thinking not only in Vietnam, but in the international arena as well, with a view toward protecting the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

Ideological work involves recognizing and transforming the world and reflects the revolutionary sentiments of the proletariat. If we are subjective or impetuous, if we resort to compulsion, we cannot achieve success in this work. However, being superficial and operating in a form for form's sake manner are manifestations of rightism and lax management and ruin our work. The ideological front is a field of extremely important party work; at the same time, it is a battlefield on which class enemies and reactionary powers launch fierce attacks against us.

In this new stage, the party must give ideological work a more appropriate position. It is my hope that you will develop upon strongpoints, correct shortcomings, perform your work well and be worthy of being staunch militants on the ideological and cultural front, as was the constant desire of President Ho Chi Minh.

b) Establishing the new culture.

The Cultural Thesis only outlined the task of establishing the new democratic culture (that is, the people's democratic culture) and moving forward to establish and develop a socialist culture in the future.

What is the new, socialist culture?

The 5th Congress of the Party pointed out: the new culture is a culture that is "socialist in content and national in character, a culture that reflects party consciousness, is profoundly popular and is impregnated with patriotism and proletarian internationalism." (13)

Clearly, in the new stage, the socialist culture encompasses many very profound elements. It is a culture established on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the spirit of socialist collective ownership. It brings together and enhances the most beautiful aspects of the national traditions and culture of Vietnam. It selectively incorporates modern cultural and scientific achievements and the accomplishments of mankind. This culture is the

harmonious combination of the very best attributes and the separate styles of the fraternal nationalities within the great family of Vietnamese.

This culture uses Marxism-Leninism and the line of the party as its compass. Today, those persons who work in the fields of culture, literature and art not only see that party leadership is necessary, they also feel a closeness to the party within their very souls. This consciousness permeates their thinking, their actions and their works. Consequently, socialist culture reflects very high party consciousness.

Our people, as the collective masters, not only enjoy spiritual values, they create them as well. The people are not only the subjects of culture, they are the masters of culture as well. For this reason, the party demands that culture be profoundly popular in nature.

To build socialism, in general, and establish the new, socialist culture, in particular, we must make every effort to develop education and carry out educational reform throughout the country so that the national education system reflects the political and cultural lines of the party and provides youths and all the people with all the knowledge needed to successfully build a Vietnam of peace, independence, unity and socialism. Our education system must possess breadth, that is, must educate all the people, and possess height as well, that is, must discover and train persons who possess talent. The general objective of educational reform is to provide a high quality education in order to train socialist collective masters, train laborers who possess socialist consciousness and ethics, have a general school education, possess technical skills, work in a highly productive manner, possess good health and appreciate beauty.

In addition to achieving the objectives of the ideological and cultural revolution in order to establish the new culture and mold the new, socialist man, the education, science and technology, public health, physical culture and sports sectors must more closely associate themselves with production and everyday life, competently support the achievement of socio-economic goals and national defense requirements and attach full importance to the demands regarding product quality and economic efficiency.

Steps must be taken to bring about deeper and more comprehensive revolutionary changes in the activities of the sectors mentioned above so that these activities reflect the superior nature of the socialist system and become a source of legitimate pride for our people. Socialism must awaken and revive the precious heritage of our nation and create the conditions for acquiring the latest achievements of our times in order to build a modern system of education, science-technology, public health, physical culture and sports, one that reflects the national color of socialist Vietnam.

The ideological and cultural revolution must create the conditions for the birth and development of the new literature and art. Literature and art must become sources of joy and beauty, constantly enhance the soul, the thinking and the feelings of the people and contribute to the success of socialist construction and the firm defense of the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

As regards the new literature and art, I am in complete agreement with the words written by Pham Van Dong, chairman of the Council of Ministers, in the letter to the 3rd Congress of Vietnamese writers: "Delve deeply into socialist life, learn, discover and be creative and, with broad vision, see the bright light and dark shadows, see the past and the future, see Vietnam and the world..."(14)

To express the important ideas and profound feelings of the nation and our times, our country's new literature and art must employ socialist realism as their method. They must continuously search for profound forms of art that attract interest and not fall into formalism or abstract art.

Our party has high praise for the cultural activities that are being conducted. However, besides the efforts being made to discover and create the new and progressive, it is regrettable that certain deviations and unwholesome tendencies have arisen. At some places, efforts have been relaxed in the struggle between socialism and capitalism on the cultural front. Corrupt customs and superstitions are spreading and adversely influencing a number of young men and women. We must realize what our full responsibility is and strengthen the management of cultural life.

Bringing culture into the daily lives of the people is an extremely important task of the ideological and cultural revolution. Positive steps must be taken to quickly develop cultural life at installations, which are places where many shortages and difficulties are being encountered. It is necessary to organize cultural life better in the municipalities, cities and industrial zones as well as in the countryside, especially areas inhabited by many members of the ethnic minorities. We must implement the guideline "the state and the people working together" in our efforts to organize the cultural life of our people at this time.

Our country's socialist culture requires the establishment of a new lifestyle, the socialist lifestyle. This is a lifestyle based on the principle "one for all, all for one." The new lifestyle establishes a close link between rights and responsibilities and obligations. It demands that each person understand that personal interests lie within common interests. Working diligently, building socialism, defending the fatherland, respecting the law, maintaining order and security and so forth are not only the responsibility, they are also the obligation of each person and must be fulfilled in a conscientious manner.

Within the new lifestyle of our society, the attitude of love and respect for one another is a beautiful expression of a highly developed culture. Each person's right to be the master of society is guaranteed; at the same time, each person has the responsibility to fully respect the right of other persons to be the masters of society. This is the essence of respect for human dignity within our society.

Among the laboring people, everyone treats everyone else in an equal and loving manner, everyone respects one another and maintains social order. Everyone sincerely wishes the best for those around them, cares for and helps one another in times of difficulty and shares misfortunes. These are genuine and indispensable sentiments. Here, there are no contemptuous, rude or

insulting attitudes or words. Here, the elderly are cared for, children are nourished and loved and women are respected and helped. These are concrete expressions of the civilized lifestyle.

The new culture is also concretely expressed in public life. The places at which cultural activities are conducted must truly be the civilized face of society. Theaters, movie houses, museums, clubs, parks, historic ruins and places of scenic beauty are common assets of the country, assets which each person has the right to enjoy in accordance with regulations that apply to all and the responsibility to maintain and preserve. We go to these public places to cultivate our knowledge, elevate our thinking, satisfy wholesome tastes and come into contact with the noble cultural values of the nation and mankind. The cultured attitude is one of respecting the heritage handed down by our forefathers, admiring talent and respecting art.

It is very regrettable that the attitudes, behavior and speech of some persons at public places are vulgar. They disrupt order, disregard rules and make comments that are rude, arrogant and absurd. Not for one moment is such behavior worthy of the new lifestyle we have today.

"Learn, learn some more, never stop learning," this is one of the beautiful qualities of our society's new lifestyle. Reading books and newspapers each day and visiting libraries and clubs must gradually become the need and habit of each laborer. We must feel uneasy when we lack these kinds of spiritual sustenance. Wasting time in coffee houses and bars is not consistent with our style of life. As the creators of the new society, we must continuously cultivate our talents, deepen our knowledge and improve our physical conditioning. Only in this way can we meet the requirements we face in building socialism and defending the fatherland.

We must wage a determined struggle to eradicate the corrupt practices of the old society that are coming back to life at many places and eradicate superstitious beliefs, which are spreading. This is an arduous and complex struggle, one that has the objective of sweeping away the corrupt practices of the feudal system and the decadent customs of the bourgeoisie. The process of establishing the new lifestyle must be the process of transforming old customs and habits and establishing new ones.

To establish new customs and habits, we must do a good job of disseminating cultural and scientific knowledge concerning daily life, concerning public hygiene and personal hygiene as well as disseminating knowledge of aesthetics to the broad masses and cultivating their appreciation of beauty.

The new lifestyle cannot win total victory over the old style of life if small-scale production continues to occupy the dominant position within social life. We must accelerate the process of socialist industrialization, accelerate the growth of large-scale, socialist production and, on this basis, improve the material and cultural lives of the people and lay the material and cultural foundations for the rapid formation and stabilization of the new lifestyle.

c) Molding the new man.

"To build socialism, we must first have socialists." These words spoken by President Ho clearly indicate the importance of molding the new man at this time.

What are the main characteristics of the new Vietnamese?

The resolution of the 4th Party Congress stressed:

--We must mold new persons who possess correct thinking, beautiful sentiments, deep knowledge and good physical conditioning so that they can successfully carry out their glorious mission of being the socialist, collective masters of society.

--The new man must make every effort to build socialism and defend the socialist fatherland, must have the knowledge of science and technology needed to carry out these two strategic tasks well.

--The new man is a laborer who possesses revolutionary awareness, possesses full revolutionary zeal, is loyal, honest and frugal, respects and protects public property, emulates others in his work, is technically skilled, is disciplined, creative and highly productive.

--The new man possesses ardent socialist patriotism and perfectly combines this patriotism with the pure proletarian international spirit.

--The new man is a person who has a deep love of the laboring people, who unites and cooperates with others and assists them in work, combat and the building of the new life.

--The new man is a well developed person who lives a harmonious, rich and pure collective life and personal life.

In summary, the most distinguishing characteristics of the new, socialist Vietnamese are: "exercising collective ownership, working and displaying socialist patriotism and the proletarian international spirit." (15) These are the characteristics of the new person suited to the new society that we are building. These standards are standards of thinking and sentiment, intellect and talent, quality and human effort that the Vietnamese must endeavor to meet in order to meet the requirements involved in the development of Vietnamese society today and in the future. However, "the new man does not come into being in a spontaneous manner, rather, he is cultivated through a process of positive action and initiative." (16) As mentioned above, our party has raised the matter of molding the new man now instead of waiting until large-scale socialist production reaches a high level of development.

The new Vietnamese has been and is emerging within our country. We see an example of the new man in the revered Uncle Ho, the great man of our people. He brought our country into a brilliant era of development, one unprecedented in the nation's history. He raised our entire nation to the level of our times. The example set by Uncle Ho was not the example set by a superman, but

by a most typical man. He touched every Vietnamese soul. He was concerned about, cared for and helped each laborer. It has been precisely because of this that wave after wave of new Vietnamese have emerged to win the great victories that our nation has won.

The new man must gradually come into being and mature through revolutionary struggle, practical activities and creative labor. The transformation of the old man and the molding the new must immediately be made part of the process of transforming society and nature. Here, the process of molding the new man cannot be separated from the process of carrying out the three revolutions.

Of the three revolutions, the ideological and cultural revolution has the specific task of molding the new man. Because, the new thinking and the new culture have the effect of guiding the actions of man. However, the ideological and cultural revolution must be closely linked to the production relations revolution and the scientific-technological revolution because these two revolutions create the material prerequisites for molding the new man without difficulty.

Here, it is necessary to emphasize the decisive role played by the dictatorship of the proletariat in the molding of the new man. The experience of history shows that when the dictatorship of the proletariat is weak, when the components of the dictatorship of the proletariat are weak and when the leadership role of the party, the management function of the state, the right of collective ownership of the laboring people, the alliance of workers and farmers and so forth are being violated, not only does the socialist system face the danger of degenerating, but many complex developments also occur in the thoughts and actions of man.

Therefore, to help strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must strengthen the socialist system of law, draft policies of the party and laws of the state and educate cadres and the people in these policies and laws in order to gain their strict compliance with them.

Clearly aware of this need, our party is very concerned with solidifying and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and formulating lines, policies and laws. We emphasize the role of collective ownership and consider awareness of the right of collective ownership on the part of the working class and laboring people to be an essential part of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the molding of the new, socialist man, appropriate concern must be shown for the interests of persons, for continuously improving their living conditions. It should be remembered that too much deprivation in one's material life can cause a person to become corrupt. On the other hand, by means of ideological work and appropriate educational measures designed to mold the new man, society is able to forge the ethics and spirit of the new man in a planned manner. These two factors must be combined as one in order to achieve good results in the effort to mold the new man.

It is necessary to teach ideology to the new man so that the new man develops a deep awareness of his social interests and understands that the individual

interests and happiness of man under socialism are not only dependent upon the results of the individual's labor, but primarily upon raising the labor productivity of all society, upon the strong development of the national economy.

Therefore, the task of ideological work is to broaden man's knowledge from awareness of the interests of his family, enterprise, cooperative, worksite, forestry site or agency to a correct understanding of the interests of society as a whole, interests which include his own interests. He must understand that the basic and long-range interests of his family are not in contradiction with the interests of all society; however, in the final analysis, the interests of the individual must be subordinate to the interests of society.

The new Vietnamese man, all Vietnamese have the tasks of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland at home while supporting the struggle of the people of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress abroad.

Today, as the Reagan administration exhibits more of the bellicose and aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism, the peace, independence and freedom of all nations are being seriously jeopardized. The Vietnamese, the new Vietnamese man, must do everything they can to work together with the people of the Soviet Union, the people of the countries within the socialist community and the peace loving people of the world to decisively crush each plan of the U.S. imperialists to unleash a new war, safeguard and strengthen peace on our planet, eliminate the threat of a new world war and protect mankind from the tragedy of nuclear war.

We believe that the world revolutionary movement is continuing to develop and that peace, the fruit of the struggle waged by the people of the world for decades, will be firmly maintained!

Dear Comrades,

In commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the adoption of the party's "Thesis on the Vietnamese Cultural Revolution," those persons who work in the fields of theory, ideology and culture must display initiative and creativity, firmly adhere to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, fully understand the lines and policies of the party, immerse themselves in the realities of everyday life and summarize the experiences that have been gained. Having restudied the Cultural Thesis and observed its positive impact during the past 40 years, we see the revolutionary, scientific and consistent nature of the party's cultural line even more clearly.

Life never stands still. There is a need for properly oriented development of the Cultural Thesis under the circumstances of the socialist revolution in our country. At the same time, a positive struggle must be fought to protect the cultural line of the party by promptly criticizing manifestations of negativism, wavering, departures from Marxism-Leninism, from the leadership provided by the party, remoteness from the masses and expressions of bourgeois liberalism in theory, criticism and artistic creativity.

Life and the revolution demand that we tighten our ranks, develop upon the strongpoints and correct the deviations and mistakes in our thinking in an effort to become staunch militants on the ideological and cultural front.

On the occasion of the approaching new year, I wish you health, happiness and many large achievements in your creative labor. Brandish the banner of invincible Marxism-Leninism!

Long live the glorious Communist Party of Vietnam!

The great President Ho Chi Minh will live forever in our work!

27 December 1983

FOOTNOTES

1. Hereafter abbreviated as the Vietnamese Cultural Thesis.
2. See: The "Thesis on the Vietnamese Cultural Revolution."
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. See: "Chu nghĩa Mác và văn hóa Việt-nam"[Marxism and Vietnamese Culture], Su That Publishing House, 1974, pp 73-74.
6. Ho Chi Minh: "Văn hóa, nghệ thuật cũng là một mặt trận"[Culture and Art Are Also a Front], Van Hoa Publishing House, 1981, pp 344-345.
7. See: the Resolution of the 3rd National Congress of the Party.
8. "Văn kiện của Đảng và Nhà nước về văn hóa, văn nghệ"[Documents of the Party and State Regarding Culture, Literature and Art], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 82.
9. See: "Ba mươi lăm năm xây dựng và chiến đấu"[Thirty-Five Years of Building and Fighting], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, p 338.
10. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, Volume 27, p 104.
11. Karl Marx-F. Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, Volume 1, p 47.
12. Lê Duẩn: "Xây dựng nền văn hóa mới, con người mới xã hội chủ nghĩa"[Establishing the New Culture, Molding the New, Socialist Man], Van Hoa Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 150.
13. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th National Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, pp 93-94.

14. Pham Van Dong: "Letter to the 3rd Congress of Vietnamese Writers."
15. The Resolution of the 4th National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 28.
16. The Political Report at the 4th National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 64.

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STRENGTHENING SOCIALIST COMMERCE AND MARKET MANAGEMENT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 84 pp 35-42

[Article by Van Tung]

[Text] The market is now the scorching battlefield of distribution and circulation. Establishing the new, socialist order within the market is an extremely pressing task.

Since mid-1980, under the light of Resolution 26 and Directive 109 of the Political Bureau of the 4th Party Central Committee, especially since the issuance of Council of Minister's Resolution 188 on strengthening socialist commerce and market management, socialist commerce has made positive changes in the direction of supporting and stimulating the development of production, making increased procurements to give the state control of the sources of agricultural products, expanding businesses and serving the daily needs of the people. Competition to both buy and sell goods between state-operated commerce and cooperatives and among sectors and localities, competition which has pushed prices upward, is declining. The lax accounting and control of private merchants and the unorganized market are gradually being corrected. The registration of commerce businesses and services, the collection of industrial and commercial taxes, the effort to combat profiteering, smuggling, the manufacture of fake goods and illegal businesses and the reorganization and management of private merchants within a number of product sectors have begun to yield results. However, the advances described above have not been sufficient to change the situation. The market is still characterized by disorder; the prices of goods continue to rise in a rapid and spontaneous manner beyond the control of the state; and negative phenomena continue to occur, adversely affecting production and the daily lives of the people, adversely affecting financial management, money management and the maintenance of social order and security.

The main cause of this situation has been our failure to gain a thorough understanding of the basic viewpoints of the party expressed in the resolution of the 5th Congress and the various resolutions of the Party Central Committee. Our shortcoming on the distribution and circulation front has been our failure to fully and deeply understand the decisive, complex nature of the class struggle to resolve the question "who will triumph over whom" that

exists between socialism and capitalism, as a result of which we have relaxed the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our guidance of the socialist transformation of private industry and commerce has lacked continuity and not been thorough. Market management has been lax. In the South, because we have not thoroughly carried out the transformation of the bourgeoisie in commerce and not waged a determined struggle against dishonest merchants and profiteers, the state does not control the flow of goods and money and exploiters have been allowed to monopolize the market. A large number of small merchants and private farmers has become absorbed in the spontaneity of capitalism. In the North, due to lax market management, speculation, smuggling and illegal ways of earning a living have developed. Embezzlement, conspiracy and the theft of public property together with other negative phenomena have not been stopped. The Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists, have encircled and are sabotaging our economy; at the same time, they are supporting bourgeois elements who have refused to participate in transformation in our country in activities to oppose and undermine us in the fields of products, money and prices. Veteran and new bourgeois elements that have evaded transformation have been and are taking advantage of loopholes and weaknesses in our management to enrich themselves. According to the results of an investigation of businesses in industry and commerce within the 1st Precinct of Ho Chi Minh City, the number of class A businesses increased many times between 1979 and 1982. According to the results of an investigation conducted in early 1983 of businesses in commerce within Hoan Kiem Ward in Hanoi, many merchants have "grown" very rapidly in recent years; by such methods as illegal trade, trade in goods prohibited by the state (gold, dollars, opium and so forth), trade in fake goods (watches, glasses, pens and so forth), conspiring with others to steal goods from the state and so forth, these persons earn very high incomes and live in luxury.

Clearly, in slightly more than 4 years, since 1979, as a result of relaxing the dictatorship of the proletariat and relaxing our efforts in socialist transformation and the management of the market, the socialist segment of the economy, especially the state-operated economy, has not been expanded and has even shrunk in some respects; the self-employed economy and the private, capitalist economy have grown and crowded out the socialist economy; the free market, which had once been partially curbed, is now spreading and accounts for an important portion of wholesale and retail sales. The bourgeoisie has restored itself and grown. Bourgeois elements that earn their livings illegally look for every way to infiltrate socialist economic units and have re-established their ties with foreign countries and become rich very quickly. New bourgeois elements have emerged. Through capitalist spontaneity, a number of merchants have become wealthy. This situation has even had an impact upon the state economic sector. Some state-operated enterprises and joint public-private enterprises have begun basing their operations on the market mechanism and strayed far from planning and socialist business principles.

Although production has, generally speaking, developed, the state still does not control the vast majority of goods, does not control the market and prices. It has yet to provide a stable supply of essential goods under ration standards to manual workers and civil servants. It also does not have all the goods needed to trade with farmers for grain and other agricultural products.

Meanwhile, the state has not fully applied the system of inventory and control to private merchants. The state's management of exports and imports as well as its management of state supplies and goods are lax. It has not focused its efforts on tracking down and harshly punishing speculators, smugglers, the manufacturers of fake goods, persons who operate illegal businesses and persons who steal supplies and goods from it. Prices are still not fulfilling the function of actively participating in the distribution and redistribution of national income. Many localities have not taken positive steps to increase the quantity of goods supplied by socialist commerce in order to dominate the market. Many places are still operating on the basis of the market mechanism and "buying and selling at high prices" instead of using two-way economic contracts to make procurements and control the sources of goods. Many places have not closely coordinated the collection of industrial and commercial taxes under the new regulations with registering businesses, compelling private parties to open accounts in the bank and reorganizing and transforming private merchants. Taking advantage of these weaknesses, bourgeoisie have engaged in profiteering and illegal trade and undesirable elements have found ways to disperse and conceal their goods, thereby creating artificial shortages on the market in order to raise prices, force stores to eliminate some stands or close, force stores to reduce the volume of their business or temporarily go out of business, reduce business revenues, bring pressure to bear upon the state, spread damaging rumors and provoke public opinion with a view toward resisting state management.

Clearly, in the field of distribution and circulation, the struggle between socialism and capitalism is an arduous and bitter struggle. This struggle is being waged against the background of acts of sabotage by the enemy, consequently, it also has the characteristics of a struggle between the enemy and ourselves. Therefore, we cannot be indecisive or cease to be vigilant. We must never forget the following words of V.I. Lenin: "The class struggle does not end in the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it only assumes different forms." "The class of exploiters, that is, the class of landowners and capitalists, does not and cannot immediately disappear under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The exploiters have been defeated but not annihilated. They still have an international base, that is, the international capitalists, of which they are a branch. They still control some instruments of production, still have money, still have very broad social ties."(1)

The resolution of the 5th Party Congress pointed out: "Distribution and circulation must competently participate in the struggle between socialism and capitalism, expand the position of socialism, diminish the position of capitalist spontaneity and successfully regulate the income of the various strata of the population in a way that is both fair and reasonable. All three types of measures must be closely coordinated: economic, administrative and educational, the basic type being economic measures."

Strengthening socialist commerce and market management is central to distribution and circulation and is the leading edge in the struggle to resolve the question "who will triumph over whom" on the economic front.

To strengthen socialist commerce and manage the market well, it is necessary to place the entire social market under the inventory and control of the state and bring it into compliance with the uniform laws of the state. The most decisive factors in managing the market are: on the one hand, accelerating the development of production in accordance with the planning and plans of the state and, on the other hand, continuously expanding and solidifying the position of the state-operated economy to insure that the state controls goods and money while closely coordinating the transformation of private industry and commerce with agricultural transformation. Economic and administrative, ideological and organizational measures must be applied in a well coordinated manner, among which we must steadfastly adhere to economic measures as the measures of basic importance. The most important economic measures are for socialist commerce to control goods at their sources, expand socialist business and dominate the market. In conjunction with economic measures, it is necessary to maintain the use of ideological and organizational measures in order to successfully mobilize the forces of the masses and organize good coordination among the sectors and levels in market management; at the same time, every effort must be made to strengthen our administrative management and vigorously suppress and punish profiteers, smugglers and so forth so that the laws of the state are strictly enforced.

On the basis of the guidelines and principles presented above, specific policies and measures must be adopted for restoring order on the organized market and solidifying and strengthening the organized market.

1. We must establish a rational division of business responsibilities within commerce among the various sectors. To rationalize the organization of commerce, reduce circulation costs and insure that materials and goods are distributed in a planned manner, it is necessary to centralize the task of organizing and managing the circulation of goods within those ministries that serve a circulation function and centralize the task of organizing and managing production within those ministries that serve a production function instead of applying the "closed cycle" principle of organizing and managing everything from production to circulation. We must base the distribution of products and the size of business territories on economic efficiency; reduce the number of intermediates engaged in trade with production installations to the lowest possible number; do everything possible to avoid the problem of many organizations of the state buying the same product from the same installation; and make full use of the potentials that lie in organizations serving as agents for one another in trade.

2. We must establish a rational division of management responsibilities within commerce, one that eliminates the practice of dividing up the flow of goods by administrative level, as a result of which goods must flow through many unnecessary intermediary levels, and provides for the direct delivery of goods from producers to markets. We must stop the practice of dividing the market up into pieces, which obstructs the flow of goods and creates disorder in prices, in order to guarantee the unity of the nationwide market. To rationalize the system within which commerce businesses are organized, we must realize that not every management level needs to have its own commerce organization; this practice leads to a cumbersome apparatus and to one organization trampling upon another. The most important element of the

division of management responsibilities within commerce is that each administrative management level have the right to control the supply of goods allocated to its locality under the state plan so that it can complete the task assigned to it.

Once the system of business organizations has been improved, we must continue to improve the organizational structure of the corporations on the central level and make a greater effort to build district level commerce and strengthen the village marketing cooperatives.

3. We must accelerate the growth of socialist business. Firmly adhering to the basic viewpoint of the party that we must continuously strengthen socialist commerce, we must advance socialist commerce to the position of dominance within wholesale trade, increase the percentage of retail trade represented by the organized market and insure that it controls the market in essential goods and primary services, beginning first in the important product sectors and localities, thereby insuring that the organized market gradually but steadily replaces the free market. We must not yield to the inclination to operate businesses merely for the sake of profit, not yield to the inclination to operate on the basis of the free market mechanism and not relax our price guidance or diminish the leadership role of socialist commerce in the market.

In accordance with the viewpoint presented above, the issue of key importance is to control the sources of goods and continuously strengthen the material forces of socialist commerce.

Controlling the vast majority of the sources of consumer goods is a pressing requirement of our state at this time because it is only by controlling industry that the state can control the sources of agricultural and food products. The resolution of the 4th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee stated: "the state must control the vast majority of the industrial products produced by the collective and private sectors. The state must gradually achieve exclusive control of grain and all agricultural products and goods of high value." Therefore, it is necessary to fully implement the resolution of the 3rd Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee concerning controlling the sources of goods: "State-operated enterprises must deliver all the products required under their state plans to state-operated commerce and the supply network of the state and may not retain products to market on their own or award as material bonuses. As regards small industry and the handicraft trades, contracting agencies must insure that they receive all the products due to them, insure that the specifications of these products are correct and procure the vast majority of the products produced by small industry and handicraft installations. Harsh action must be taken against installations that practice deception, manufacture fake goods or skimp on raw materials provided by the state."

The commerce sector must attach special importance to developing the large potentials of small industry and the handicraft trades because they provide an important portion of its supply of goods. Consequently, there is a need to improve contract ordering procedures and implement a policy of selling raw materials and buying finished products. To correct the shortcomings that

exist in procurement activities to control the sources of goods within small industry and the handicraft trades, some products must be shifted from contract ordering to direct planning or put under the policy on selling raw materials and buying finished products in keeping with Council of Ministers' Regulation Number 123/CP dated 9 May 1983. As regards controlling the sources of agricultural products, the above mentioned resolution stated: "We must apply a uniform, nationwide policy on the mobilization of grain under obligations, one that encompasses agricultural taxes and procurements under obligations through two-way contracts..., take determined steps to remove private merchants from the grain market and harshly punish those who speculate in grain at its source, thereby avoiding the need to 'close down markets that impede the flow of river traffic.' The procurement of forestry products, marine products and other agricultural products must also be carried out under economic contracts and at stable, directed prices."

In keeping with the spirit of this resolution, two-way economic contracts are the primary method employed by socialist commerce to procure products from collective and private producers; are an effective way to apply economic levers to support production and enable the state to control the sources of goods, a way that benefits producers as well; and are an effective measure in the struggle to stabilize the market and prices, remove private merchants from the market, solidify the alliance of workers and farmers and stimulate the socialist transformation of agriculture and private industry and commerce. Therefore, we must provide a larger supply of goods for trade with farmers through two-way contracts governing trade at directed state prices and must do so in accordance with the following principles: giving priority to supplying consumer goods to farmers and giving priority to supplying agricultural and food products to the municipalities and industrial centers. We should not employ barter or sell industrial goods to farmers at high prices and then buy their agricultural products at high prices. In addition to procuring agricultural and food products under two-way contracts, the state must also implement an incentive price policy in order to procure additional agricultural and food products.

The distribution of retail goods must be organized along the following lines: with regard to those products that are supplied under ration standards, every effort must be made to provide a full supply, especially to the municipalities and industrial centers; cadres, manual workers, civil servants, the armed forces and the laboring people must be able to purchase the minimum essentials they need at directed retail prices of the state. State-operated commerce must do a good job of supplying the necessary products, considering this to be a practical way to quickly stabilize the standard of living of manual workers and civil servants employed by the state and the armed forces. On the other hand, efforts must be made to put more and more goods on normal retail sale at stores; at the same time, we must expand public food and service businesses, serve the needs of the people well and correct the inclination to do business in high priced products.

In view of the fact that the economy still consists of many different segments and the fact that small-scale, decentralized production is still widespread, the existence of the free market within a certain number of fields is unavoidable and necessary. However, state-operated commerce and cooperative

commerce are not permitted to turn themselves into a force of the free market; not permitted to operate their businesses on the basis of the free market mechanism; not permitted to procure products from persons other than producers and sell products anywhere and to anyone provided that they realize a price markup; not permitted to only do business in high priced products, in products that are highly profitable; not permitted to compete with one another for goods; and not permitted to resell the same product many times thereby causing irrational increases in the retail price paid by consumers and artificial increases in the volume of retail sales.

We must discard the style of management characterized by red tape and subsidization and shift to socialist business management; however, it must be stated here that the essence of socialist business management is doing business in accordance with the plan, not on the basis of the market mechanism, and doing business to support production and serve the daily lives of the people. Using socialist commerce purely as a means of earning profit and, as a result, patterning its activities after those of the free market are mistakes.

To strengthen socialist commerce, we must create every possible favorable condition for it to develop and insure that socialist commerce fulfills its historic mission as the shock force on the distribution-circulation front, that it achieves dominance within the market and brings victory to socialism. On the other hand, we must wage a determined struggle against each activity that is negative, against inertia and against methods of operation that do not comply with the socialist business viewpoint.

Restoring order in the organized market and mounting an effective struggle against negative phenomena within the economic organizations of the state and collectives, these are the basic prerequisites to organizing, managing and guiding the free market.

Continuously strengthening the overall forces of socialist commerce and insuring that state-operated commerce controls the social market are the factors of decisive significance in managing the free market and stimulating socialist transformation.

On the basis of controlling the sources of agricultural and food products, completely controlling the consumer goods produced by state-operated enterprises and joint public-private enterprises, taking delivery of all contract products produced by small industry and handicraft installations and so forth, state-operated commerce must move itself into a position of dominance in wholesale trade and claim a higher percentage of retail trade.

This is the issue of decisive significance in insuring that state commerce controls goods and money, controls the market and prices and replaces and does a better job than private commerce; at the same time, it creates a position of strength from which to accelerate the socialist transformation of private industry and commerce and intensify the transformation and management of the free market, especially the transformation and reorganization of small merchants.

In the South, between now and the end of 1985, we must accelerate the socialist transformation of private commerce; on the basis of rapidly and strongly developing the forces of socialist commerce, we must immediately remove the bourgeoisie from commerce. Many different methods must be employed to organize and transform small merchants in order to bring their activities in the circulation of goods under organization and plans that lie within the sphere of socialism, beginning within those sectors that do business in essential goods: grain, meat, vegetables, fish, soy sauce, sugar, fuel, etc.

In the North, we must solidify and strengthen the forces of the socialist economy while taking positive steps to carry out the socialist transformation of the bourgeoisie, small owners and small merchants that have emerged in recent years.

Within those product sectors within which the state must control a portion or the vast majority of the products produced, we must, in conjunction with developing state-operated commerce and cooperative commerce, immediately remove the bourgeoisie from commerce. The transformation of small merchants must be carried out in ways suited to each product sector. As regards the small merchants within product sectors that are not important, socialist commerce can utilize some merchants as procurement and retail agents; in addition, these merchants can be permitted to conduct a number of activities under the control and management of the state and good persons among them can be selected to work within the socialist commerce network while shifting those small merchants who are not needed in the circulation of goods to production and service jobs.

As regards the export-import business, there must be strict compliance with the principles of the state's exclusive foreign trade rights and the central level's unified management of foreign trade, unified management of foreign currency and unified management of the transportation of exports and imports. The control of all primary export and import goods must lie within the central state and every potential of localities, installations and families to participate in the production of export goods must be developed.

Actual experience has shown that in order to transform and manage the market and insure that socialist commerce controls the market, it is necessary to carry out the socialist transformation of private industry and commerce well and coordinate this with socialist transformation within agriculture. While carrying out socialist transformation, we must combine the transformation of the bourgeoisie with the transformation of small-scale producers. To succeed in the transformation of small-scale producers, we must not only organize them within collective economic businesses, but also combine economic, educational and administrative measures well in order to bring them to the path of socialism through management and education, place their business activities under strict inventory and control by the dictatorship of the proletariat state and compel them to do business in exact accordance with state law. Therefore, the state must adopt comprehensive plans and suitable policies for transforming private merchants, completely removing the bourgeoisie from commerce and establishing regular state inventory and control over business activities within the market on the basis of the following principles: businesses must be issued licenses; open accounts in order to make payments

through the bank; submit to state inspection of their bookkeeping, sources of goods, volume of business, capital and prices; register and post their prices and sell their products at posted prices. We must carry out the rapid, systematic licensing of businesses within industry and commerce while strictly enforcing the industrial and commercial tax regulations of the state. This is a positive way to assist the state in establishing inventory and control over all businesses in industry and commerce. The recent revisions to the industrial and commercial tax policy are designed primarily to adjust the contributions made by businesses in industry and commerce to be fairer and more reasonable, appropriately regulate the incomes of businesses that have very high, unreasonable incomes and reclaim for society the illegally acquired income of those who use the common difficulties of the country to enrich themselves and live in extravagance and luxury.

Only by successfully carrying out the licensing of businesses in industry and commerce, strictly enforcing industrial and commercial tax regulations and the law on the punishment for the crimes of profiteering, smuggling, the manufacture of fake goods and the operation of illegal businesses and coordinating the enforcement of industrial and commercial tax regulations with the strong development of the socialist commerce network in order to achieve the position of dominance within the market can the state reorganize and transform private merchants in a manner that utilizes private merchants, restricts them and successfully transforms them.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, Volume 39, pp 318-319.

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CONTRIBUTION TO THE FORMULATION OF OUR COUNTRY'S MINERAL STRATEGY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 84 pp 43-47

[Article by Ta Hoang Tinh and Tran Duc Giang]

[Text] Ours is a country of "golden forests and silver seas." These words represent a very general summary and evaluation of our country's natural resources. These words truly reflect reality and also represent a noble desire of our people.

The mineral reserves that have been discovered and evaluated are one of the most important sources of the instruments of production of social production forces. These sources are not inexhaustible and, once they have been exhausted, they cannot be renewed. This is a special characteristic of mineral resources.

The depletion of mineral resources is a threat to many nations, to mankind.

Therefore, the quantitative evaluation of the resource balance must rest on two foundations:

1. Correctly evaluating the resource potentials of the country (natural reserves, technical reserves and economic-technical reserves);
2. Adopting the correct strategy concerning the exploration, exploitation, processing, use, development and conservation of potential sources of natural resources.

To us, the basic objective of these two criteria is to manage and utilize natural resources in an economical, rational and integrated manner to build and develop the socio-economic system and improve the standard of living of the people as we follow the path from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production.

Our party and state focused their attention on basic investigations of the country's mineral resources at an early date. Since the defeat of the French in 1954 and since the total liberation of the South in 1975, geological investigations, research and exploration and the development of mines have

been carried out in a systematic fashion, carried out on an increasingly large scale involving increasingly modern technology, with significant achievements having been recorded in a number of fields.

All of the results of basic geological investigations have made positive contributions to clarifying geological structures, geological history, the laws governing the formation and distribution of minerals and the mineral prospects of the country, in general, and each territory of the country, in particular, thereby laying the scientific basis for bringing mineral sources on line to support the different economic targets, such as the targets of agriculture, industry, communications-transportation, water conservancy, construction and national defense, and those targets that lie outside the development of mineral resources while setting guidelines for the continued exploration for, discovery, development and use of minerals.

Vietnam occupies a very unique position, a position on the margin between the ocean and the continent, a position at the point of convergence of the Pacific and Eurasian tectonic plates. Under the influence of the tectonic activity of these two plates, crust activity has occurred many times and different rocks, such as sedimentary rocks, magma and metamorphic rocks, and the mineral deposits associated with them were formed. Vietnam is also a tropical, trade wind country. Under these natural conditions, many forms of materials have changed and developed through the geologic eras, from the birth of the planet to the present day, thus creating for this region very rich, diverse and complex resources.

For many years, man only studied subterranean geology for the sole purpose of extracting minerals from the interior of the earth to serve his immediate interests. This practice, which was not progressive, only served to deplete resources and squander the limited wealth that lies below the ground. Today, the basic requirements of subterranean geological research are to utilize resources in a frugal, rational and integrated manner and protect the resources that lie within the earth. This means that we must research subterranean geology in a comprehensive manner and lay scientific foundations in order to establish correct guidelines, objectives and methods for utilizing mineral resources and the interior of the earth in the manner that yields the highest possible economic returns. On the other hand, we must put an end to practices that cause underground pollution and destroy the natural environment and areas that must be preserved because of their special scientific, cultural or historical value. Threats must not be posed to the life and health of the people of today or tomorrow.

Based on the results of basic geological investigations, results which are incomplete and lacking in some detail, our country has registered nearly 2,000 mines and deposits of 90 different types of minerals, the degree of evaluation of which varies widely. Of this number, more than 50 minerals and nearly 300 mines and ore deposits have been located. More than 30 minerals and over 100 mines have been put into production or are in the production design stage.

Mineral research, exploration and development have created local sources of raw materials that directly support the development of agriculture, heavy industry, the consumer goods industry and local industry, such as coal, iron,

kaolin, building materials and so forth. On the other hand, they have also led to the creation of additional sources of exports, such as tin, apatite, chromite, etc.

Vietnam has virtually every kind of mineral. Minerals from which energy is derived, such as anthracite coal, lignite, peat, petroleum, natural gas and radioactive ores, metallic minerals, such as the rare earth metals, tin, bauxite, iron and chromite, and non-metallic minerals, such as apatite, kaolin and limestone, are the minerals of which we have large reserves. The minerals used in the production of such building materials as porcelain, pottery and glass, are quite abundant. The reserves of underground water, mineral water and hot water are deserving of attention. The prospects for gold, precious gems and semi-precious stones are very deserving of examination. The reserves of a number of other minerals, such as bituminous coal, gypsum, mine salt and so forth are still limited.

Although some of our mines are large-scale mines, nearly 90 percent are average or small-scale mines; at many mines, geological conditions are unfavorable, the quality of ore is below average, mining operations are complex, transportation is underdeveloped, ores are difficult to process and utilize and, in addition to primary elements, there are also secondary elements and harmful impurities.

These are the limitations upon our mineral resources, limitations that must be recognized by us at the outset. Only by fully recognizing these limitations can we achieve a correct understanding of the country's "golden forests and silver seas."

Many geologists and researchers in the natural sciences as well as the economic and social sciences are beset by a concern, more correctly stated, are beset by a worry that approaches nagging doubt: in view of the fact that the data obtained through our basic investigations are incomplete, how accurate and reliable are these data, what should our viewpoint be in evaluating the actual situation and which methods should we employ to make forecasts and predictions? These are legitimate concerns.

Generally speaking, however, the accuracy and reliability of the data obtained through basic investigations in any field of science, especially geology, are limited by specific historical conditions. On the one hand, data from basic investigations correspond to the size of the investment made in the investigation. On the other hand, data are constantly changing as more geologic discoveries are made, as more technological advances are applied and as new, higher and more urgent needs arise in the development of the national economy. The main guideline here is to always seek a balance. To clearly understand this "dynamic balance," it must be stated that the evaluation of what is known about a geological structure and forecasts only represent absolute values for a given time frame within the overall relativity of the entire process. Everything that is known about a specific geological structure represents something concrete as well as a forecast. What is known today is the result of yesterday's forecast and the premise of tomorrow's forecast. Even correct evaluations of what is known only approach current reality and good forecasts only approach the reality of the future. However,

it is only upon these foundations that we can formulate overall planning and carry out the planning of the various sectors of the national economy in a scientifically based manner.

One problem that needs to be resolved in order to increase the scientific value and the realistic nature of plans for geological investigations and mineral exploration is that of classifying minerals. The classification of minerals must be based on the characteristics of the economic-mineral situation and a policy regarding mineral use which insures that investments made by the state yield high returns. Therefore, it is necessary to examine such matters of prime importance as the following:

--Mines can be grouped on the basis of the size of their reserves, that is, large or average, and must be classified by the quality of their ore, that is, high, low or average:

--Mines that have large or average reserves and ores of rather high quality, such as anthracite coal, tin, chromite, titanium, limestone, cement, glass sand and so forth: the mines in this group do not require large investments in additional exploration and expansion. Instead, investments should be made in exploration and development based on a plan that calls for domestic utilization of these ores and limited exportation. As regards minerals of which we have large or average reserves but are of average or low quality, such as apatite, bauxite, rare earth metals, chemical limestone and so forth, investments must be made in industrial research into sorting, processing and new uses with a view toward finding domestic uses for these minerals and giving them greater value as commercial exports. Although there are large reserves of lignite in the Red River Delta, mining conditions there are difficult and our country's economic circumstances at present and for the rest of the century do not permit its utilization.

--Within the group of mines that have been evaluated as containing considerable reserves, a reasonable amount of additional exploration must be conducted. Here, strong investments must be made in industrial research to resolve the technical problems involved in the processing and use of these ores. These mines should primarily be developed for domestic consumption with limited exports.

Within this group are the following minerals: iron ore, uranium, vein tin, kaolin of all types, minerals used to make fire-resistant materials (recrystallized quartzite, dolomite), minerals used in the production of baked and unbaked building materials (clay, laterite, pozzuolana, sand, pebbles and gravel), peat, underground water, mineral water and hot water.

--The group of mines that have limited reserves which are too small to meet domestic needs over the long range: bituminous coal, manganese, pyrite, lead, zinc, mercury, molybdenum, antimony, tungsten, gypsum, etc.

Some of the minerals within this group not only exist in small reserves, but are also usually of low or below average quality. On the other hand, a number of these minerals are most often found mixed among many different elements and associated with a rather high degree of impurities (as is the case with

diamonds, copper, antimony and gold). Consequently, it is necessary to search for deposits that might have been overlooked. There must also be increased research in evaluating mineral deposits that have been discovered, increased industrial research and tighter control to insure that these natural resources are used in a rational, integrated and frugal manner. Besides this, it is necessary to closely calculate import needs, needs which must be stable and limited in nature.

--The group of minerals which have not been fully evaluated but which show prospects and are of high economic value consists of: gold (placer gold and vein gold) and precious stones and gems (for the manufacture of jewelry). As regards this group, we must make investments in research, exploration and mining that are inexpensive but yield the most rapid returns possible.

--The group of mineral fuels, such as petroleum and natural gas, is already governed by special policies. Attention must be given to conducting experiments at sources of geothermal energy in order to provide a new source of energy in the not too distant future.

Among the above mentioned mineral groups, it is quite clear to us which minerals are of central importance and very necessary in meeting immediate needs and needs in the relatively near term future and which require appropriate investments.

However, allow us to raise the following question: among these many minerals, even among those that are considered to be of central importance, which can become leading minerals that serve as economic levers, which are of national and international strategic importance, not only in the immediate future, but over the long range as well? Are they not the following minerals, minerals to which we must give special attention to investigating and researching their development and use:

1. Gold is a mineral of high economic value and large potentials that does not require investment in industrial or technical processes that are very complicated or must be imported, especially placer gold. Investments in this mineral would surely yield returns, immediate returns. The basic requirements in the exploration, development and use of the mineral gold are organization and management.

Gold mining is a long-standing, traditional industry of our people, one that disappeared during the past several decades. In recent years, panning for gold has emerged as a spontaneous, inextinguishable movement in some localities. As a result, gold resources are being lost and depleted. The "gold hemorrhage" is serious. Social ills are spreading. These negative phenomena must be stopped by immediately reorganizing the gold mining industry and putting it under tight, effective management.

2. Semi-precious stones, precious gems and construction stone (including limestone) hold very large potentials. In addition to meeting domestic needs for many years to come, it is also entirely possible to satisfy export needs. The investments required are not large and the technology involved is not difficult but the returns are large. The basic requirements in this area are

to develop markets and conduct research in industrial art based on the tastes of consumers.

3. The rare earth metals are mineral resources that hold very large potentials, are minerals capable of meeting the widespread needs of many highly developed industrial sectors in the world and our country as well. They are the metals of the 21st century and we must know in which direction scientific and technological development is headed in our times. The basic requirements in the development and use of the rare earth metals are to conduct industrial research and expand the applied sciences. Our efforts must be directed toward the development of pure and super-clean products. Investments in this area will definitely yield returns, returns which, although not immediate, will be very large and lasting. There is an immediate need to conduct general planning in this area and adopt practical plans for performing this work well.

All mineral resources are national assets, are owned by all the people and managed exclusively by the state. On the other hand, researching, investigating, discovering, mining, processing, using and protecting mineral resources and the interior of the earth are the work of all the people, of each collective and citizen.

This is a major undertaking, one for which we must mobilize every available force under the guidelines "the state and the people working together," "the state-operated and collective sectors working together" and "the central level and the locality working together." The development, protection and modernization of the traditional mining industries of the nation within each area of the country in which mineral deposits exist must become a technological revolution within the geological projects, mining and mineral processing sectors in order to more rapidly put the results of geological and mineral investigations to work supporting the economy and society in accordance with the following guideline: "Simultaneously carrying out central economic construction and local economic development is the best way to properly develop each capability of the country in order to rapidly increase production, promote the redistribution of labor, expand the sectors and trades and create additional wealth."(1)

As regards its stages of development, this technological revolution must be carried out in the manner described by Le Duan: "We must combine an immediate leap forward from manual labor to mechanization with an orderly advance from manual labor to semi-mechanized labor and then to mechanization."(2)

While awaiting the drafting of a complete code of law on the use and conservation of natural resources, the improvement of the economic management system, the promulgation at an early date of a "Law on the Protection of the Earth's Interior," the revision and amendment of certain regulations and policies and the formulation of new ones suited to the actual situation within society will serve to strongly stimulate research and production.

FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duan: "Ve qua trinh tu san xuat nho len san xuat, lon xa hoi chu nghia"[Concerning the Process of Advancing from Small-Scale Production to Large-Scale Socialist Production], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, p 10.
2. Ibid., p 22.

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SUCCESSFULLY CARRYING OUT THE SETTLEMENT OF NOMADS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 84 pp 48-53

[Article by Cu Hoa Van]

[Text] In our country, there are more than 2 million ethnic minority nomads, more than one-half million of whom are H'mong, Dao, Jarai and Ede, practically all of whom live in the forests of the Truong Son Mountains, the Central Highlands and the northern border areas, where the enemy is opposing and sabotaging us in every way possible on a daily basis. In these regions, the primary mode of farming is nomadic farming, that is, clearing and burning terraces and planting seeds in holes poked in the ground; livestock are still being raised by allowing them to roam freely. The life of the nomads is a life of subsistence, a backward, unstable and very difficult life.

To gradually reduce the number of nomads, our party and state launched a campaign in 1968 to bring about the settlement of nomads in coordination with carrying out agricultural cooperativization and expanded this campaign to the entire country following the great victory in the spring of 1975. During the past 15 years, the campaign has had an impact upon 1.6 million persons in 1,300 of the 1,650 villages in the 160 districts of the 22 mountain provinces and provinces that have mountains and recorded important victories. At those places where nomads have been settled, the material and spiritual lives of the ethnic minorities have been improved and the minorities have made positive contributions to the construction and defense of the fatherland. In 15 years, 114,000 hectares of land has been cleared and opened to cultivation in terraced fields, wet rice fields, dry land fields and terraces with stone embankments in rocky mountainous areas; 2,000 small water conservancy projects have been constructed to irrigate 40,000 hectares of cropland and 20 small hydroelectric power stations have been built in coordination with these projects. In Gia Lai-Kontum, tens of thousands of additional hectares of terraced fields have been opened, thereby helping to resolve the grain problem within the province; places that have an average of 1,000 to 2,000 square meters of terraced fields per capita have not only achieved self-sufficiency in grain, but are also fulfilling obligations to the state. Some 50,000 hectares of whole forests and 13,000 hectares of industrial crops have been planted and nearly 100 installations raising herd buffalo and cattle have been established. We have relocated and constructed new housing for nearly 70,000

families consisting of more than 400,000 persons; constructed 3,000 wells or water tanks for places that lacked potable water; constructed 2,050 collective welfare projects; opened 9,700 kilometers of rural roads, which include 3,500 kilometers of roads for motor vehicles that connect to main roads during the dry season; constructed 380 suspension bridges; established 3,909 cooperatives and 1,869 agricultural production collectives, etc. Today, in Ha Tuyen, Hoang Lien Son, Quang Ninh, Ha Son Binh, Thanh Hoa, Binh Tri Thien, Quang Nam-Dan Nang, Nghia Binh and Gia Lai-Kontum Provinces, 120 villages encompassing 100,000 minority members at agricultural and forestry cooperatives and production collectives have been recognized as having completed the settlement of nomads. Today, every province, every area and every nationality has established units that are models of one specific aspect or every aspect of the settlement of nomads.

However, the results achieved through the settlement of nomads campaign during the past 15 years are still low compared to requirements and compared to the efforts and money invested in the campaign. The number of persons who are still nomads or who, although settled, still practice nomadic farming is still very large. There are still 258 villages in which the campaign has not been initiated, villages which lie mostly in remote, wilderness areas that have no roads and can only be reached by a walk of several days from the district seat. In the majority of the villages in which the campaign has been launched, it remains unfinished and stable material bases have not been established in order to stabilize living conditions on a permanent basis. In many districts within the rocky mountains of Cao Bang and Ha Tuyen Provinces, the population is dense, there is a shortage of farmland and the forests have been virtually destroyed; water sources for both humans and livestock are lacking, the enemy is constantly engaging in harassment from the other side of the border and grain and living conditions, in general, pose very pressing problems. In the Central Highlands, we have yet to establish specific forms of organization and stages of development within the campaign that are suited to the level of socio-economic development of the local people.

Therefore, on the basis of the results that have been achieved during the past 15 years, most importantly the models of the settlement of nomads that have emerged, we would like to present several experiences for the purpose of improving the settlement of nomads campaign in keeping with the spirit of the resolution of the 5th Party Congress.

1. Providing the Minorities with a Stable Life, Beginning by Resolving the Grain Problem

Although forced to live nomadic lives, a stable life has been the fervent desire of the ethnic minorities for generations. Therefore, they are ready to respond to the settlement of nomads campaign because it satisfies this long held aspiration. And, this aspiration of theirs is also the most important target of the campaign. The settlement of nomads campaign must gradually meet this target. Nomadism in our country, which is based on clearing and burning the forests to make terraces to raise grain and meet immediate food needs, is no different than destroying the strengths of the mountain region. Old and young forests alike are destroyed. The consequences are the elimination of forests, the degeneration and depletion of the soil, stunted crops, the loss

of the forestry industry and the handicraft trades based on the forest, the depletion of potable water sources and violent natural disasters, as a result of which nomads must abandon their fields and go elsewhere in search of food. This is a terrifying and dangerous vicious cycle. Therefore, to break this cycle, it is of utmost importance that nomads have permanent cropland and use it under correct production guidelines. The establishment of permanent fields for the production of grain is a project requiring a considerable amount of labor. By steadily clearing wilderness and opening new land, building fields and building water conservancy projects, we must establish wet rice fields, terraced fields, dry land fields, terraces with stone embankments, rocky hollows with dirt and so forth. On this cropland, suitable intensive cultivation practices must be initiated in order to gradually establish permanent grain fields. And, in view of the serious destruction of the forests, we must, together with practicing intensive cultivation, closely coordinate agriculture and forestry to protect and develop forest resources, restore fertility to depleted soil, maintain the quality of the soil being used to raise crops, protect the environment and establish ecological balance within the region and throughout the country. Within the areas in which nomads are being settled, correct production guidelines also require good coordination between the economy and the national defense system because many of these areas occupy strategically important positions and must be developed into a network of interconnected bases defending the country. These guidelines must also be closely linked to the economic zoning plans of the entire country and particularly within the scope of the districts. Increasingly stable grain production, regardless of how much grain is produced, is very important and has significance in many areas. Because, in the rocky, remote mountainous areas, grain cannot be easily purchased even if the money is available and the state can only supply grain to these areas with great difficulty. By operating under the guidelines described above, many cooperatives and districts have managed to achieve self-sufficiency in grain. For example, in 1975, A Luoi District in Binh Tri Thien Province only cleared and established 46 hectares of wet rice fields; by 1982, as a result of expanding the amount of area under cultivation, the district produced 400 kilograms of grain per capita, sold more than 600 tons to the state and four of its villages had put an end to slash and burn cultivation.

Today, in view of the millions of hectares of cropland and barren hills that are being eroded and depleted with each passing day as a result of the destruction of the forests, we are even more aware of the fact that the clearing of wilderness and the opening of new land for agriculture cannot be separated from protecting and building forest resources. The land and the forests depend upon each other for their survival and development. Therefore, the establishment of an agro-forestry economic structure at the very outset is the most decisive material prerequisite to the establishment of stable, permanent areas for the settlement of nomads. This must be widely publicized among the people and fully reflected in the organization and conduct of the campaign. In recent years, a number of places have performed this work well. Thanh Hoa has planted more than 18,000 hectares Luong bamboo forests. Quan Hoa District, which planted 15,000 hectares of forests during the settlement of nomads campaign, is now harvesting millions of pieces of bamboo per year and will be harvesting 7 million pieces per year by 1985; meanwhile, the district has cleared and established 1,481 hectares of agricultural land (671

hectares of wet rice fields), thereby bringing its grain output from 9,600 tons in 1965 to 18,900 tons in 1981, an average of 16 kilograms per person per month. The members of the Dao minority in Quang Ninh, which have planted thousands of hectares of collective cinnamon forests, sold to the state "settlement of nomads" cinnamon worth more than 13 million dong in 1981 and 1982. The Koho minority in Quang Nam-Da Nang and Nghia Binh Provinces, although it only numbers about 16,000 persons, annually exports more than 1 million dollars worth of cinnamon to the world market. The H'mong have a tradition of raising pharmaceutical crops and temperate zone fruit. In conjunction with protecting the forests and planting forests to retain and increase the fertility of agricultural land, we must organize businesses within the forestry industry in accordance with the zoning of production areas within the district after state agencies have assigned responsibilities for the management of land and forests. And, as forest resources develop, the raising of the species of large livestock, the handicraft trades, processing operations and so forth must be organized. The development of the sectors and trades will provide better conditions for improving production tools and raising the level of scientific and technological development within production, as a result of which the ethnic minorities within these areas will gradually become the masters of their lives.

The establishment of settled farming practices, that is, the achievement of self-sufficiency in grain and the gradual development of the sectors and trades, enables the adoption of a settled place of residence. A settled place of residence creates even better conditions for settled farming practices. The food problem can only be resolved through settled farming practices. Our people have a saying that "one must live in comfort before he can enjoy his work." Therefore, appropriate attention must be given to building settlement villages that consist of housing and collective welfare projects based on the planning for the building of the new countryside and the new life. Special importance must be attached to providing potable water for humans and livestock at places that lack sources of clean water. In recent years, although not many schools, public health stations, marketing cooperatives, wells, maternity clinics and so forth have been constructed within settlement villages, these permanent or semi-permanent projects in the highlands have come to symbolize the culture and civilization of socialism. The straight rows of individual houses with tile roofs and a garden for each family of Bahnar in Ha Ry Village, Vinh Thach District, Nghia Binh Province, which have separated them from the large family structure of relatives and children living together within one long house, reflect social progress that is usually measured in terms of ages. Each and every cultural, educational and health care project, be it small or large, that is constructed in settlement areas is of truly profound significance.

The opening of roads and the supplying of additional means of communications and transportation to link settlement villages to one another and, in particular, to the district, the province and the economic and cultural centers have made it no longer necessary for minorities to live in isolation and brought them closer to the cultured life of the rest of society. Over these roads, socialism will come to the minorities in the concrete form of technical supplies, goods, the light of culture, science and technology; these

are the roads that will bring the minorities into the daily life of the country.

2. Voluntary Participation, "the State and the People Working Together, the Central Level and the Locality Working Together"

The settlement of nomads is a profound revolutionary change based on voluntary participation by the minorities. The minorities in the areas being discussed are limited in many respects, especially in terms of knowledge. Therefore, propaganda and educational work among the minorities must be based on easily understood facts and concrete examples within their daily lives and carried out by means of practical, simple methods so that the minorities gradually gain an understanding of the correct positions and policies of the party and state, the benefits of the campaign that are in their interests and the suffering and dismal nature of nomadic life. Facts have shown that it is very difficult to break the long habit of nomadism. Only when the nomads themselves see the harm of nomadism, see that the purpose of the settlement of nomads is to provide them with a stable and increasingly improved life do they willingly accept effective assistance from the state and implement the guideline "the state and the people working together, the central level and the locality working together." Assistance and investments by the state in the settlement of nomads are very necessary because, without them, many difficulties arise, difficulties that the minorities are unable to surmount. However, it is only when nomads voluntarily participate in the campaign that the capital, materials and grain provided by the state for the construction of production projects, collective welfare projects, housing and so forth are not wasted. Of course, assistance and investments by the state where they are needed have the effect of strongly stimulating the campaign; at the same time, they are designed to develop the self-reliance and initiative of the minorities, not to provide sweeping investments that create the attitude of relying upon, waiting for and demanding action on the part of the state. Facts have shown that many places that have little capital have still been able to perform much work, the movement has a solid base among the masses and the campaign has still developed well even though the assistance and investments provided by the state have not been large or well coordinated. However, at some places, as a result of inappropriate concern, assistance and investments by the state and the failure to properly observe the guideline "the state and the people working together, the central level and the locality working together," the campaign has stood still.

Of the various methods of settlement that have been employed in many different areas, the settlement of nomads within the areas in which they have been living continues to be the primary method. New population centers should only be constructed for nomads at places where the population is very widely dispersed or places that are very densely populated and there is not sufficient cropland to support life. However, such cases require careful consideration, especially at places where there is a need to defend the border. At the same time, we must create favorable conditions for widely attracting minorities to state-operated production installations: state farms, forestry sites, road maintenance crews and so forth. This is something that has significance in many areas and enables the minorities to make more rapid progress toward socialism. In the settlement of nomads campaign, we

must give our attention to implementing the nationalities policy of the party very well.

In essence, the settlement of nomads campaign is a campaign to build the new production forces and establish the new, socialist production relations from the very beginning in areas in which nomadism is still practiced so that the ethnic minorities there are able to advance directly to socialism. Of importance is the need to establish forms, stages and scales of settlement suited to each area and train minority cadres to guide and organize their compatriots in collective production. Under the main guideline of coordinating agriculture and forestry, it might only be possible at first to organize small and medium-scale collective production based on the hamlet as the production unit to produce a few products that are consistent with the natural, social and demographic circumstances of the masses, with their ethnic makeup, customs, habits, level of production forces and production experiences. We should not try to mechanically apply the practices of other areas. At the same time, there is a need to strongly develop the household economy within crop production, livestock production, forestry, the handicraft trades, transportation and pisciculture, considering it to be an important element supporting the collective economy.

3. Clearly Defining and Correctly Fulfilling the Specific Responsibilities of the Various Levels and Sectors in the Settlement of Nomads Campaign

The settlement of nomads campaign is a large, difficult and complicated undertaking, is an organizational effort of coordinated activities related to many levels and sectors, including such fields of scientific research as ethnic studies, sociology, history, demography, human geography, eco-geography, etc. However, of most decisive importance is concern on the part of the various party committee echelons to provide constant, close and concrete leadership. In the recent past, due to the lack of a full understanding of this issue, there have been many shortcomings in both guidance and organization. On the local level, some party committee echelons and levels of government have only concerned themselves with providing guidance in the early stages of the campaign and then leaving everything up to specialized agencies. Some places have even used money in their settlement of nomads funds for other purposes and have not concerned themselves with strengthening the specialized agencies or closely supervising the various sectors to insure their effective participation in the campaign. Correct leadership of the campaign by the various party committee echelons involves establishing the guidelines, stages of development and basic measures for conducting the campaign within their locality, providing the guidance needed to insure the success of propaganda and educational work among the minorities and bringing together the combined forces of all related levels and sectors in order to make concrete contributions to the campaign and resolve the problems that arise during it. The role of the government lies in formulating the specific plan of the locality and knowing how to carry out the campaign by utilizing the manpower and material of the sectors and the people in coordination with assistance from the upper level. The settlement of nomads campaign is a complex political, economic and social campaign being conducted in areas in which the population is not progressive; therefore, the various party committee echelons and levels of government must closely lead and guide

this campaign and are responsible for thoroughly carrying it out. We believe that, on the basis of the new understanding that has been acquired together with the planning of settlement sites, improved investments by the state, the amendment and revision of old policies and the promulgation of new policies on the settlement of nomads and so forth, the organizations of the party and government on the various levels will improve and strengthen their leadership and guidance of this important work.

The specialized agencies on the central and other levels must be reorganized and strengthened in a manner consistent with their position, nature and tasks so that they can assist the levels of the party and government, from the central to the provincial and district levels, in successfully organizing and carrying out the campaign. The deployment of an adequate number of cadres to important sites and special emphasis upon the training of cadres among the local people are very necessary.

The planning of production and construction, especially on the district and village levels at places where nomads live demands the participation of the agricultural, forestry, water conservancy, communications-transportation, industrial and marine products sectors. The State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Supply, the Ministry of Food and the State Bank will provide instructions in how to balance long-term and yearly plans on the settlement of nomads and instructions concerning the procedures for managing and allocating capital, supplies and grain as supplemental investments. The intensification of the cultural and ideological revolution in areas inhabited by nomads is part of the responsibility of the Ministries of Education, Public Health and Culture and the mass organizations. The Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Interior also have the responsibility of assisting in the planning of the network of population centers and the construction of capital projects that coordinate the settlement of nomads with the deployment of border defense forces. They also have the responsibility of guiding the border defense units in actively participating in the campaign.

With the good experiences that have been gained over the past 15 years, with a clearer understanding of the requirements and objectives of the campaign in the present situation, with the close leadership of the party and with the active participation of all levels and sectors, we will surely successfully complete the settlement of nomads campaign, thereby contributing to economic and cultural development in the mountains, strengthening our national defense and political security, gradually achieving equality in every respect among the nationalities, bringing the highlands to the level of development of the lowlands, the mountains to the level of development of the deltas and uniting all nationalities so that they help one another make progress and together serve as the collective masters of the construction and defense of the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

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EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS ON BUILDING THE DISTRICTS AND STRENGTHENING THE DISTRICT LEVEL: THE ORGANIZATION OF AGRICULTURAL-FORESTRY PRODUCTION WITHIN THANH CHUONG DISTRICT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 84 pp 54-59

[Article by Nguyen Phuong Que, secretary of the Thanh Chuong District Party Committee]

[Text] Thanh Chuong District lies in the midlands of Nghe Tinh Province along the Truong Son Mountain Range. The district measures 116,636 hectares, only 14.6 percent of which, or slightly more than 17,000 hectares, is farmland. It has nearly 68,340 hectares of forests and 25,040 hectares in agricultural land, barren hills and grasslands. Its population of 170,000 includes more than 60,000 laborers. Thanh Chuong has abundant economic potentials. It has strengths in crop production, livestock production and forestry and its people are diligent, brave, intelligent and rich in revolutionary spirit. However, besides these advantages, Thanh Chuong has also encountered difficulties in its economic development. Within the district are many different micro-climatic zones and many steeply graded terraced fields; only 30 percent of its farmland is irrigated. Natural disasters occur frequently. Four major natural disasters occurred between 1976 and 1982. There was a severe drought in 1977 and major flooding in 1978 that inundated virtually the entire province. Two hail storms occurred in 1980 and, in 1982, 20 villages were heavily damaged by typhoon number 7.

Having been shown the position and functions of the district level through the resolutions of the 4th and 5th National Congresses of the Party, our district party committee came to the realization that in order to build the district and strengthen the district level, the structure of the district's production had to be based on the cropland, forests, hills and labor of the district. With the establishment of this structure, we had the basis needed to carry out overall socio-economic planning, establish rational production guidelines, take positive steps to develop the three strengths that the district has in its crop production, livestock production and forestry in the best possible manner and meet the needs for food and grain while endeavoring to produce many raw materials for industry and agricultural products for exportation and gradually stabilizing and improving the standard of living of the people.

Below are some of the jobs that our district has performed:

I. Focusing Efforts on the Full-Scale Development of Agriculture Within the District

1. Resolving the grain problem:

The target of achieving self-sufficiency in grain within the district represents a major challenge to our district party organization because, for many years, Thanh Chuong was one of the districts in Nghe Tinh that encountered many difficulties, sometimes very serious difficulties, with grain. During the 5 years from 1976 to 1980, total grain output averaged only 31,700 tons per year and ranged from a high of 37,000 tons in 1976 to a low of 23,000 tons in 1978. Grain output in paddy equivalent was only 185 kilograms per capita. Each year, the district contributed about 1,700 tons to the state while the state annually supplied to the district more than 3,000 tons, even more than 5,000 tons during one year, a significant percentage of which was grain supplied as subsidies to farm families that lacked food.

There were many reasons for the shortage of grain described above; however, a strict assessment of our own efforts showed the primary, immediate causes to be the many shortcomings in the leadership provided by the district party committee and the fact that it did not know how to correctly develop the potentials lying in the district's land, how to establish correct production guidelines or how to correctly allocate crops and livestock. Within the district party committee, there were still manifestations of conservative thinking, the thinking of relying upon the upper level and a fear of difficulties as well as a failure to boldly apply scientific and technological advances.

Under the light of the various resolutions of the party, we focused our efforts on agricultural development, primarily to resolve the grain problem through the intensive cultivation of rice, while strongly developing the production of subsidiary food crops.

Within agricultural production, water conservancy is the measure of foremost importance. To a midland district such as ours, irrigation water for crops assumes even more special importance. Realizing this, we have, ever since the start of 1976, maintained a constant movement to build water conservancy projects under the guideline "the state and the people working together." The district has excavated and spread more than 4 million cubic meters of dirt and 10,000 cubic meters of stone and poured more than 7,000 cubic meters of concrete to improve existing projects and construct dozens of new reservoirs, build seven large and small electric pump stations, etc. As a result, the amount of cropland under irrigation increased from 4,000 hectares in 1976 to 6,000 hectares in 1982. The key rice growing areas, such as Dai Dong, Vo Liet and so forth, have virtually resolved the problem of providing irrigation and drainage for their rice fields.

In the intensive cultivation of rice, we have attached importance to evaluating, selecting and using new, high yield varieties that withstand drought and are resistant to pests. Within the district are specialized

technical cadres in charge of two seed selection and production facilities; each cooperative has allocated the necessary land and labor for specialized seed production. On the basis of new varieties of rice and irrigation projects, we have revised the allocation of crops and rearranged the growing seasons to suit each type field and each micro-climatic zone. We expanded the cultivation of summer-fall rice from 1,200 hectares in 1976 to 3,000 hectares in 1982 while providing an increased supply of fertilizer, closely guiding the production of seedlings and insuring that the seasonal schedule was met. As a result of these well coordinated measures, the yield of rice increased from 28 quintals per hectare in 1979 to 41 quintals per hectare in 1982. During the 1983 winter-spring season, the average rice yield throughout the district was 26.3 quintals per hectare, with many cooperatives, such as Thanh Van, Minh Son, Dong Van 1, Thanh Minh and so forth, recording a yield of 40 quintals per hectare. Rice output rose from 21,067 tons in 1979 to 33,000 tons in 1982.

Because our district lies in the midlands, where there are many knolls and hills, the amount of land available for rice production is limited. Therefore, together with attaching importance to rice, we have attached very much importance to developing the production of the various types of subsidiary food crops so that subsidiary food crops constitute a significant percentage of total grain output. We have taken many coordinated steps to launch a movement to raise subsidiary food crops everywhere, to have every household raise subsidiary food crops. One of the measures that we have taken, in addition to putting more land under the cultivation of subsidiary food crops, has been to relocate population centers. Since 1976, following the formulation of the district's overall socio-economic planning, we have relocated families from densely populated areas to areas that have much available land and from areas where frequent flooding occurs to hilly areas in accordance with our planning. This has helped us to acquire additional good land for the production of subsidiary food crops and industrial crops and provided favorable conditions for quickly covering barren hills with vegetation and turning them into lush gardens. Since 1976, we have moved 5,000 families consisting of 25,000 persons to new economic zones and opened 2,000 hectares of farmland, thereby establishing a number of specialized farming areas, such as the areas raising corn and peanuts in Cat Ngan, peanuts and pimentos in Xuan Lam, etc. We have also expanded the cultivation of subsidiary food crops during the winter and summer-fall seasons and upgraded these seasons to main production seasons that account for 60 percent of the land under the cultivation of subsidiary food crops during the year. As a result, subsidiary food crop production increased from 6,300 hectares in 1976 to 10,000 hectares in 1982.

In past years, one of the reasons why the farmers of our district did not give appropriate attention to the production of subsidiary food crops was the lack of policies and regulations that provided appropriate incentive for subsidiary food crop production. We corrected this situation by boldly implementing a number of specific policies governing subsidiary food crop production. For example, cooperative members may borrow fallow land for 3 to 5 years to raise subsidiary food crops and keep all the products they raise. In areas in which multicropping and companion cropping are not established habits, cooperatives encourage their members to practice multicropping and companion cropping by

offering contracts that pay for all production costs while allowing cooperative members to keep some of the products they raise. Once each season and each year, the district, on the basis of the percentage of grain raised by cooperatives in the form of subsidiary food crops, assigns state grain obligations under which those cooperatives that raise many subsidiary food crops are allowed to replace a high percentage of their paddy with subsidiary food crops. Those farm families that have a surplus of subsidiary food crops may trade them with the state for goods.

The efforts described above raised subsidiary food crop output quickly, from 9,500 tons in 1979 to 14,500 tons in 1982. As a result of the production of additional rice and subsidiary food crops, the average amount of grain per capita in paddy equivalent, increased from 185 kilograms in 1979 to 270 kilograms in 1982. Once a district that lacked grain, we have now begun to achieve self-sufficiency in grain within the district. At the same time, grain contributions to the state under obligations have risen rapidly, from 900 tons in 1979 to 3,500 tons in 1980, 4,600 tons in 1981, 6,500 tons in 1982 and 8,000 tons in 1983. Ours is one of the districts of Nghe Tinh Province that has excellently completed its grain mobilization plan for many consecutive years.

In conjunction with increasing the production of grain, we have attached importance to developing the production of industrial crops and export crops. We have made full use of all arable land and restructured the allocation of crops in a more rational manner along the lines of practicing centralized, specialized farming in coordination with establishing general businesses; as a result, we have established centralized industrial crop growing areas, such as the peanut growing areas in Xuan Lam and Cat Ngan, the pimento growing area in Thanh Yen and Thanh Giang and the tea growing area on the right bank of the Lam River while widely planting crops at every place in the district that has the conditions needed to produce economic returns. The planting of industrial and export crops has been assigned to cooperatives and even to cooperative member families. As a result, the amount of area under cultivation rose from 1,800 hectares in 1976 to 3,600 hectares in 1983, with peanut production increasing from 430 to 1,450 hectares, pimento production from 50 to 280 hectares, sugarcane production from 20 to 400 hectares, sesame production from 360 to 550 hectares and soybean production from 260 to 430 hectares. In 1982, our district sold to the state approximately 800 tons of peanuts, 140 tons of dried pimento, 2 tons of silk and 200 tons of sesame and beans.

2. Reorganizing livestock production within the district.

Thanh Chuong has a rather large amount of land in forests and natural grasslands and raises many subsidiary food crops and industrial crops, consequently, it has rich sources of livestock feed. During the past several years, we have gradually changed the species of livestock being raised to include hogs, buffalo, cattle, fish, goats, deer, bees and the various species of poultry within all three sectors, the state-operated sector, the collective sector and the cooperative member household sector under the guideline of raising livestock wherever there is a kitchen, raising fish wherever there is water and raising buffalo wherever there are forests. The district has a farm that raises hog breeding stock and a state farm raising cattle breeding stock.

Each cooperative has farms raising boars, sows and fingerlings for supply to cooperative member families; at the same time, the raising of herd buffalo and cattle has been organized on grasslands and contracts have been assigned to cooperative members to raise draft buffalo and cattle in coordination with breeding buffalo and cattle under economic and technical quotas. To insure good results in livestock production, we have attached importance to veterinary services and have organized a complete veterinary network that extends from the district level to installations. At the same time, appropriate policies and regulations have been enacted; for example, capital has been invested in household livestock production, feed is supplied for breeding stock and grain is sold to households that exceed their fertilizer quotas.

As a result of the integrated measures mentioned above, the livestock herds within the district have grown rapidly. Between 1979 and 1983, the hog herd grew from 35,000 to 50,867 hogs, the buffalo herd from 19,500 to 22,500 head, the cattle herd from 9,500 to 13,700 head and the number of fish from 1 million to 3 million. The development of livestock production has had a good impact upon crop production by providing adequate draft power and increasing the sources of fertilizer for intensive cultivation and has raised the income of collectives and cooperative member families. Each year, our district has supplied to the state 750 tons of pork and beef and from 300 to 500 draft buffalo and cattle.

II. Organizing the Forestry Economy Within the District

Thanh Chuong has a rather large amount of land in forests and hills. This land holds significant potentials because the forests and hills not only provide us with timber and firewood, but also supply many valuable pharmaceutical products, raw materials for industry, grain for humans, feed for livestock, etc. Within the district's overall socio-economic planning and on the basis of these strengths, our district party organization decided to upgrade forestry to a main production sector and implement the guideline of coordinating agriculture and forestry within all areas, at all cooperatives and among all families.

In keeping with this guideline, we initiated forestry planning and defined the commercial uses of each type of land. We zoned the forests into the following areas:

- The harvested forests (approximately 25,000 hectares), which have a reserve of 2.5 million cubic meters of wood and can annually be harvested at the rate of 15,000 to 20,000 cubic meters;
- The forests set aside for the preservation and protection of wild animals (7,000 hectares);
- The forests in need of repair and protection (3,100 hectares);
- The forest land used to raise grain and industrial crops (8,700 hectares);
- The forest land used to raise livestock (6,850 hectares).

On the basis of this planning, we have rearranged the allocation of crops and livestock of each area. For example, in the area on the right bank of the Lam River on hills that have a gradient of less than 25 degrees, commercial tea has been planted along with such fruit crops as jackfruit and canarium to provide shade. Along the borders of the plots, pineapples or green manure crops have been planted, bamboo and rattan have been planted at the base of hills, etc. Timber bearing trees have been planted on steeply graded hills and pine trees on rocky hills. In addition, under the guideline of "raising short-term crops to support the production of long-term crops," we have made full use of the land in the hills in this area to raise potatoes, cassava, beans, peanuts, tobacco and so forth as well as buffalo, cattle, goats, deer, etc. On the barren, depleted hills in the area on the left bank of the Lam River, we have planted tea for household use, trees for timber and firewood and pine trees. Along the river basin, we have planted various species of bamboo, jackfruit, rattan, giant rattan, etc.

We have carried out the assignment of land and forests to villages, cooperatives, state-operated installations and cooperative member families. So far, 27,840 hectares of forest land have been assigned to 30 villages, of which 2,938 hectares have been assigned to cooperative member families for use as hillside gardens and 2,002 hectares have been assigned to state-operated installations.

To provide a good supply of tree seedlings, we have organized 26 seedling nurseries at cooperatives measuring a total of 71 hectares. Each year, the district holds short-term training classes for technical cadres from cooperatives in planting techniques, in combating erosion on the various types of hills, etc.

As regards labor, each cooperative has a unit specializing in afforestation that works under a product contract. Within the district, there are 2,200 persons within the specialized units that operate businesses on forest land and hillsides and 400 persons who specialize in the harvesting of forests. In addition to these specialized units, the cooperatives also mobilize additional labor for this work when required.

To date, the villages and cooperatives have zones 1,645 hectares of forests for preservation and repair. The district has planted 1,200 hectares of new forests and 1,032 hectares of tea in the various areas of forest land. The cooperatives have also made full use of their grasslands and forest lands to raise 2,500 additional buffalo and head of cattle and plant 7,500 more hectares of subsidiary crops consisting of sweet potatoes, cassava, *Dioscorea esculenta*, *Dioscorea alata*, taro, sugarcane, beans, sesame and many medicinal crops.

To date, cooperative member families have established more than 3,500 hectares of hillside gardens and planted many types of fruit crops, industrial crops, pharmaceutical crops, etc. The annual income from these hillside gardens accounts for a significant percentage of the total income of each family.

However, we recognize that the results described above only represent initial results. The potentials of Thanh Chuong's forestry industry are still very

large. Among the cadres, party members and people of the district, we still see an attitude of giving light attention to forestry. The destruction of the forests, the burning of the forests and the indiscriminate harvesting of the forests are still quite serious. Capital investments in forestry are still very small. Many points in the policies and regulations governing the harvesting of the forests are still unreasonable or not specific. In the years ahead, our district will take determined steps to correct these shortcomings and weaknesses in order to develop the forestry industry in a comprehensive manner under the guideline of coordinating agriculture and forestry and achieving high economic returns in the building of the district.

Together with developing agriculture and forestry, our district has built small industry and handicraft installations for the immediate purpose of serving agriculture and forestry. Eventually, we will establish an agro-forestry-industrial economic structure within the district. In keeping with this guideline and target, we have established within the district a soy sauce processing enterprise, a pharmaceutical processing enterprise, a sugar and molasses mill, a tea processing enterprise, installations producing wooden furniture, enterprises that manufacture machines and repair farm implements, etc. The realities of the past several years have proven that as agriculture and forestry develop, increasingly favorable conditions are created for the development of the industrial installations; conversely, the development of the industrial installations has a reciprocal, positive impact upon the development of agriculture and forestry.

7809

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TIEN LANG BUILDS ITS ECONOMY IN COORDINATION WITH STRENGTHENING THE NATIONAL DEFENSE SYSTEM WITHIN THE DISTRICT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 84 pp 59-64

[Article by Nguyen Van Luu, secretary of the Tien Lang District Party Committee]

[Text] Building the economy in coordination with strengthening the national defense system within the district is a major policy of our party and state, is an important part of building the district and strengthening the district level. It is based on the requirement of carrying out the two strategic tasks of our country's revolution, both in the present stage and over the long range, and is consistent with the characteristics of the position of the district level.

As a lowland, coastal district located in the outskirts of Haiphong, a district that lies along a major river and faces the vast South China Sea, a district that measures 16,800 hectares, 9,000 hectares of which lie in farmland, and has a population of 109,000, Tien Lang occupies an important position within the economy and the national defense system. The district is not only a belt that supplies grain and food products to the industrial city with its major port, but is also the southwestern gateway protecting Haiphong and occupies a vital position in the defense of the country. It is not surprising that the Chinese feudalists of ancient times and then the French colonialists, the Japanese fascists and the U.S. imperialists used the sea and river routes within our district to attack Haiphong from the rear and invade our country and that today the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists are also eagerly eying the strategically important position that is our district.

In the recent past, in keeping with the resolutions of the party and state and with the assistance of the Party Committee of Military Region 3 and the Haiphong Municipal Party Committee, the Tien Lang District Party Committee has made initial efforts to apply the positions of the Party Central Committee within the locality in a concrete manner and has led and organized the people of the district in the work of building the district under the guidelines of political stability, economic prosperity and military strength in order to turn the district into a solid fortress for defending the fatherland.

Actually, due to its strategically important position, Tien Lang developed the tradition of producing and fighting at an early date. Even during the years of the resistance against France, Tien Lang was a district that had a strong and stubborn guerrilla movement. It fought more than 3,000 large and small battles against the enemy, typical of which was the defeat of the enemy sweep operation conducted in August, 1953, as a result of which 21 well trained battalions of the enemy were routed and the district received a letter of commendation from President Ho and the Resistance Order First Class from the state. In the resistance against the United States, the military forces and people of Tien Lang, displaying a high spirit of vigilance, captured an entire band of American and puppet commandoes when their boat intruded into the offshore waters of Tien Lang, shot down five aircraft and set two warships afire, capturing their American pilots. The district was awarded the "Best Unit in the Military Region" banner for military recruiting and for shooting down many aircraft. The armed forces of Vinh Quang Village were awarded the title "Heroic Unit." In economic construction, Tien Giang also recorded significant achievements. In 1960, our district virtually completed agricultural cooperativization and gradually began to build considerable material-technical bases.

However, there was a time following the liberation of the South and the reunification of the country during which our district did not uphold its tradition and became one of the weak districts of Haiphong. The economy was developing slowly and the yields and output of rice and subsidiary food crops were low and unstable. The average annual rice yield between 1976 and 1980 was only 40 quintals per hectare. Grain output per capita was only about 200 kilograms per year. Obligations to the state were not being fulfilled and the people were encountering many difficulties in their daily lives. Each person had only 9 to 10 kilograms of paddy per month (only 5 to 6 kilograms in some villages). During the period between seasons, as many as 70 percent of the district's households lacked food. The state had to annually sell back to the district from 1,500 to 2,000 tons of paddy (in 1 year, as much as 2,400 tons). The people lacked enthusiasm and some cadres and party members wavered in the face of our persistent difficulties. In local military activities, although military recruiting was still being carried out well. Our work in all other areas had declined and stagnated, thus affecting the organizing of local forces, military training and the building of the defense line.

Under the light of the resolutions of the party, especially following the issuance of Political Bureau Directive Number 33 on building the districts and strengthening the district level, our district party committee, realizing the important position of the district level in building and defending the fatherland, harshly reviewed its shortcomings and weaknesses and became determined to overcome the difficulties being faced, resolve our problems and gradually move our district forward under the guideline of closely coordinating economic construction with the strengthening of the national defense system and making the district a solid fortress defending the fatherland. Under the slogan "Victory Through Prosperity," our district party committee decided that it was necessary, on the basis of making the district a politically reliable district and focusing efforts on economic development, to build Tien Giang into a developed agricultural-industrial-fishing district that has a strong national defense system and closely coordinating the economy

with national defense to insure that the district steadfastly holds its position in every situation in order to carry out production, fight the enemy, win victory over the enemy's wide-ranging war of sabotage and defeat enemy forces while they are still far away. Our guidelines are to take national defense requirements into consideration when formulating economic development planning and plans and closely coordinating economic construction with the strengthening of the national defense system to insure that efforts are focused on economic development when we are not at war and that we can, in time of war, quickly shift to war time tasks, tasks in which each village is a base, each citizen is a soldier who kills the enemy, defends the village and defends the fatherland.

In 1978, Tien Lang formulated its planning and plans for economic, cultural and social development throughout the district; however, this planning and these plans were incomplete, especially in view of the fact that they did not give full attention to the requirement of coordinating the economy with the national defense system. It was not until 1979-1980, following the issuance of the Political Bureau directive and the resolution of the Haiphong Municipal Party Committee on building the district level that we gained a clearer and fuller understanding of the guidelines for building the districts and amended and improved our plans for the building of Tien Giang District.

In agriculture, we have adopted the policy of utilizing the advantages afforded by the district's many beaches and promoting the intensive cultivation of rice on the field side of beaches while building dikes to reclaim land from the sea and establishing new farmland beyond the beaches. We mobilized hundreds of thousands of laborers (the nucleus of whom were the militia and self-defense forces) to construct 11 kilometers of sea dikes, thereby putting 2,050 hectares of sea beach into production. A new village consisting of more than 1,000 families has been established at this site and rice has been planted on more than 600 hectares. We plan to move 6,000 citizens into this area by 1985 to establish two production cooperatives, which will also be combat villages. The population living along the sea dikes will form a defense belt along the beach. On the field side of these dikes, the district party committee has required that the militia and self-defense forces be reorganized within 202 water conservancy units and a movement be launched to build water conservancy projects, build area and plot embankments and complete the network of canals and ditches in order to provide adequate water for two rice crops per year and, at the same time, provide combat defense lines for use when necessary. In 1981, Tien Giang completed the construction of the Ro sluice, a three gate, 24 meter long water conservancy project, together with a network of canals and ditches, thereby meeting an important portion of the need for fresh water in production. On the other hand, the villages have actively encouraged the people to implement the new contract system within agriculture, as a result of which they have eagerly applied the various measures involved in intensive cultivation. Tien Lang has recorded bumper rice crops for six consecutive seasons. In 1981, the entire district recorded an average yield of 50 quintals per hectare. In 1982, the district's yield was 58 quintals per hectare. In 1983, yield rose to 65 quintals per hectare. Paddy output has risen by 7,000 to 8,000 tons each year. Per capita income has risen from 290 kilograms of paddy in 1980 to 435 kilograms in 1983. As a result, grain contributions to the state have also

increased each year: 1980: 3,000 tons; 1981: 5,200 tons; 1982: 12,000 tons; and 1983: 15,500 tons. The district's present eating standard is 18 to 20 kilograms of paddy per person per month. Some 80 percent of the district's people have adequate table paddy and reserve paddy. During the 1983 winter-spring season, nearly 500 households within the district sold the state 1 ton or more of paddy (one household sold 11 tons). All cooperatives have established grain reserves for national defense needs.

In small industry and the handicraft trades, our district has built a suitable machine network, one which, in normal times, manufactures production tools and repairs machines and, in time of war, will manufacture and repair rudimentary weapons (stakes, mines, grenades and so forth). Specifically, the district has one machine enterprise, each economic cluster has one machine station and each village has one machine section.

As regards fishing, the entire district only has one fishing cooperative. Soon, we will establish a number of other cooperatives and organize them into fishing units consisting of hundreds of laborers. These units, the nucleus of which will be militia and self-defense forces, will patrol and guard the beach during the daily fishing operations.

In communications and transportation, we have planned, constructed and upgraded a number of roads to support economic development and meet national defense requirements. We have constructed two new roads that run toward the beach and gradually completed the canal and ditch network; at the same time, we have improved and acquired new means of transportation. Today, Tien Lang District has 800 tons of motorized boats, nearly 40 tractors, 20 trucks and more than 200 animal drawn carts.

As regards distribution-circulation and cultural and social activities, our district has established a production and combat support network consisting of five clusters, each of which contains various types of stores and warehouses. We have divided the district hospital into two facilities, one located at the head of the district and one within the cluster on the beach. Every village has a public health station.

Together with stepping up production, we have given our attention to teaching cadres, party members and the people to display a high spirit of revolutionary vigilance, maintain combat readiness and fight well. On the other hand, we have attached importance to building local combat forces and preparing combat plans. We have divided the 20 villages of the district into five economic-technical clusters, clusters which, in time of war, are five interconnected combat units. Each member of the standing committee of the district party committee has been put in charge of one cluster. These persons guide the development of production and economic construction and serve as the political officers of the clusters' mobile battalions. The building of the material-technical bases of the entire district, in general, as well as those of each cluster, in particular, has been researched and coordinated to meet national defense requirements. Our district has established a network of stationary, interconnected battle positions, one based on the guideline of building a strong frontline and a solid rear line; the various clusters can reinforce one another. A forward defense line has been established and constantly

strengthened by means of a network of obstacles (dense plantings of rattan, bamboo and Brugiera gymnorhiza along the beach) together with a network of trenches and combat alert fortifications, a road network and a communications network.

Each village has one mobile company, which is also a 202 water conservancy unit, one stationary combat company and four specialized teams (information, military intelligence, reconnaissance and engineers). A militia and self-defense platoon has been established within each production unit. Within each cluster, a mobile battalion (the coastal combat cluster has been equipped with additional modern weapons) and a number of specialized platoons have been established. The district has five mobile battalions, 21 mobile companies, 24 stationary companies and many specialized platoons consisting of 13,819 militia and self-defense personnel, or 14 percent of the district's population. Within each cluster and village, a unified command has been established. The militia and self-defense forces are truly the nucleus in production, the construction of water conservancy projects, patrols, guard duty and the maintenance of security; at the same time, they receive military training and conduct coordinated combat operations involving live ammunition fire based on their combat plans once each season and year. Tien Lang District has exceeded its plan quotas on the induction of youths each year, by 1.2 percent in 1980, 4 percent in 1981, 1.8 percent in 1982 and 6 percent in 1983.

During the past 4 years, under the guideline of building clusters that are strong on the front and solid in the rear, we have concentrated our efforts on building the coastal combat cluster, which consists of four villages and one state farm, our objective being to make the cluster economically prosperous and strong in terms of national defense. We mobilized the people of the entire district to contribute some 80,000 bamboo seedlings and 20,000 rattan seedlings to plant along the 19.2 kilometers of sea dike and living dike. In the waters along the beach, 20 hectares of Brugiera gymnorhiza have been planted. Bamboo has been planted around all the villages within the cluster. Our thinking here is that the planting of bamboo and Brugiera gymnorhiza will prevent storms from destroying the dike, prevent the waves from washing sand into the fields and impede attacks by the enemy. In terms of economic benefits, in only 3 years, each bamboo seedling will produce two pieces of bamboo and each cluster of rattan will produce 2 kilograms of rattan, thus enabling us to harvest from 15 to 20 tons of materials for the production of hats and earning the district tens of millions of dong. Together with the line of physical obstacles, we have also constructed a network of steel reinforced concrete fortifications and a network of interconnected communications trenches and will soon build a network of storehouses for grain, weapons and ammunition.

To insure good communications and the maintenance of a good combat alert system, an observation tower has been erected within this cluster and a communications and liaison network has been established among the various villages within the cluster, between the cluster and the district and between this cluster and the other clusters. The militia and self-defense forces have been organized into four combat alert detachments; these detachments regularly stand guard at important positions and raise the grain that they need for

themselves. As a regards rear services within the cluster, we have reorganized the stores, warehouses, stations and farms, strengthened the five village public health stations and built another district hospital to support combat requirements.

During the past several years, as a result of the close guidance that has been provided, production has developed rather well within this cluster and advances have been made in the economic, cultural and social fields. In 1983, all four villages within the cluster recorded an average rice yield in excess of 65 quintals per hectare. Vinh Quang Village recorded a yield of 81 quintals per hectare. All of these villages have exceeded their plan quotas on the delivery of grain and food products to the state and their quotas on military recruiting. The public security sector has mobilized the masses to "clean up" the area in which they live, as a result of which political security and social order and safety have been maintained. All four of the village party organizations are rated strong and solid.

In summary, although it still has some shortcomings and weaknesses and although there are still some areas in which what we are doing is not truly rational and needs to be supplemented and improved, Tien Lang District has made significant efforts and recorded initial results in coordinating economic construction with the strengthening of the national defense system within the district and in developing the district into a fortress defending the fatherland. As a result of these efforts, the district's movement has taken more uniform and steadier strides forward. Whereas our district had 10 weak and deficient village party organizations (52 percent of the total number of villages within the district) prior to 1979, today, the district has 13 solid and strong village party organizations, 7 above average village party organizations and not 1 weak and deficient party organization. The Tien Lang District Party Organization has been awarded the "strong and solid district party organization" banner by the Party Secretariat. Between 1980 and 1983, the Council of State awarded our district one Labor Order Second Class and two Labor Order Third Class and awarded the Military Exploit Order First Class to the district's armed forces. We also had the honor of welcoming General Secretary Le Duan on a visit to the district.

To develop upon the results that have been achieved, continue to advance the movement and retain the title "strong and solid district party organization," our district party committee is leading and organizing the people of the district in a determined effort to successfully carry out the socio-economic program for the period of time between now and 1985, the main objectives of which were set forth by the district party organization congress. At the same time, we will continue to improve our plans for building the economy in coordination with strengthening the national defense system, improve our combat plans and fight the enemy's wide-ranging war of sabotage. We will continue to carry out the plan to send persons to establish two new villages in the area reclaimed from the sea, strengthen the coastal defense line and improve the network of rear service storehouses within this area; at the same time, we will plant bamboo and rattan as fences around the combat villages in the clusters in the rear, reorganize the fishing cooperatives and closely coordinate the task of harvesting ocean resources to bring prosperity to the

district with the task of patrolling and maintaining security along the shoreline.

The lessons that we have learned are that it is necessary to build unity and consensus within the district party committee and throughout the party organization; necessary to have a full awareness of the requirements of the two strategic tasks and the close relationship between the economy and the national defense system and, on this basis, apply the general policies of the party to the specific conditions of the locality in a highly determined and creative manner; necessary to tap the activism and creativity of the masses and mobilize the strengths of the entire district; necessary to provide the guidance required to insure that each job is thoroughly performed; and necessary to build skilled staff agencies.

7809

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CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE BUILDING OF THE DISTRICT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 84 pp 64-68 and 79

[Article by Le Quy Duc, the Central Propaganda and Training School]

[Text] Building and developing the culture of a district is a matter of important significance in the socialist revolution within our country, in general, and in the process of advancing agriculture to large-scale socialist production, in particular.

More than 60 years ago (January, 1923), while discussing the economic construction tasks of the first socialist state in the world, Lenin emphasized the important role played by cultural development. He said: "Two main tasks confront us, which constitute the present epoch. The first task is to reorganize our machinery of state, which is utterly useless, and which we took over in its entirety from the preceding epoch... Our second task is cultural work among the peasants. And the economic objective of this cultural work among the peasants is to organize them in cooperatives. If the whole of the peasantry had been organized in cooperatives, we would by now have been standing with both feet on the soil of socialism. But the organizing of the entire peasantry in cooperatives presupposes a standard of culture among the peasants (I say peasants because it is they who constitute the broad masses) and cannot, therefore, be achieved without a true cultural revolution."(1)

This argument of Lenin's sheds light on many questions of theory and practice for us; in particular, it provides us with a deeper and fuller understanding of the dialectical relationship between economic construction and cultural development within the districts as well as a fuller and deeper understanding of the impact of cultural development within the district in the course of the socialist revolution and socialist construction within our country.

Cultural development within the district is an objective necessity. This is because of the necessity for the ideological and cultural revolution within the socialist revolution. It is also necessitated by the fundamental economic law of socialism; at the same time, it represents the achievement of the noble goal of the system of socialist collective ownership within our country.

Imbued with the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism and on the basis of the specific characteristics of our country, the party established the general line on the socialist revolution within our country as: firmly maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat, upholding the right of collective ownership of the laboring people and simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions: the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution. Thus, the ideological and cultural revolution, the immediate goals of which are to establish the new culture and mold the new man, is an integral part of the socialist revolution in our country. Therefore, wherever the process of building the new economy is underway, so, too, is the process of establishing the new culture and molding the new man. The realities of socialist construction throughout our country during the past several years confirm this.

Both theory and practice show that economic construction and cultural development within the district are two closely related tasks that have an impact upon and even permeate each other.

As regards the economy, we are building an agro-industrial structure within the district in order to create a new system of production and, at the same time, create a new material base of cultural life within the district. A new enterprise, a new station or farm, a new store, a new farming practice, a new handicraft trade and so forth is not only a material base, but also an expression of the new cultural life. Moreover, to create the new economy of the districts, it is necessary to raise the cultural and scientific-technical standards of the people. As we perform this task, we are also carrying out the cultural revolution within the developing countryside. In addition, the birth of the new economic structure within the district, which has the effect of developing production and raising labor productivity, creates a new material life and provides the accumulated capital necessary for building cultural projects and enabling the masses to participate in cultural activities, to enjoy and create culture. Thus, the building of a new economic structure within the districts is not simply the task of building a new economy, it also has an impact upon the establishment of the new culture and the molding of the new man within the countryside.

In the field of culture, "culture" as it is broadly defined, the establishment of the new culture involves building the new economy at the same time as establishing the new cultural life. Because, the cultural life of man, as broadly defined, consists of two fields: material culture and spiritual culture. The basic factor of material culture is the mode of material production, that is, production forces and production relations as well as the products produced through this mode. Therefore, according to Lenin, when, after seizing political power, the proletariat begins to build socialism, it also begins the establishment of the new culture. Lenin said: "We have to admit that there has been a radical modification in our whole outlook on socialism. The radical modification is this: formerly, we placed, and had to place, the main emphasis on political struggle, on revolution, on winning political power, etc. Now, the emphasis is changing and shifting to peaceful, organizational, 'cultural' work. I should say that emphasis is shifting to educational work...if we leave international relations aside, however, and

confine ourselves to internal economic relations, the emphasis in our work is shifting to education."(2) Even if we understand cultural development purely in the terms of developing spiritual culture (the narrow definition), it, too, demands economic construction. To raise the cultural standard of the people, create the conditions for them to participate in the creation of culture and eliminate the cultural gap that separates the cities from the countryside, we must develop the economy while taking steps to achieve cultural development. Our party has emphasized: "The building of the new culture and the molding of the new man are a comprehensive undertaking."(3)

Thus, it can be concluded that building the economy and carrying out cultural development are two closely related tasks within the socialist revolution. These two tasks are closely linked to and permeate each other on a nationwide scale as well as within each specific locality and district. This fact is quite evident in a number of districts, such as Hai Hau District in Ha Nam Ninh Province, Dong Hung and Hung Ha Districts in Thai Binh Province, Do Son District in Haiphong, etc.

However, there are some persons who do not see the dialectical impact that each of these tasks has upon the other. There is a rather widespread tendency at this time to place sole emphasis upon economic construction, to only attach importance to economic development, as a result of which economic development is separated and divorced from cultural development. This incorrect tendency has not only failed to stimulate the development of the entire socialist revolution, but has even hampered economic development. Therefore, we must research the positive impact that cultural development within the district has upon economic construction and development in order to take well coordinated measures that avoid mistakes and problems before we can achieve returns in every area.

The most important task of the ideological and cultural revolution within the rural areas of our country is to raise the cultural standard and the socialist awareness of farmers. Raising the cultural standard of farmers is a very basic prerequisite to enabling them to learn scientific and technical knowledge and knowledge of economic management. Only with this knowledge can farmers easily learn new production methods. Today, to raise a new variety of rice, raise a new breed of hogs or use a new tool, the farmer must have a certain knowledge of science and technology. Likewise, to organize and manage an economic installation such as a cooperative, station, farm, enterprise and so forth, the rural cadre must possess the minimum knowledge of other fields of science, such as economics, economic management, psychology, sociology, etc. This knowledge must be acquired through a process of education and training at schools, through the press, through books and other information media. To our country, an agricultural country whose production is primarily at the level of small-scale production and whose population consists mainly of farmers who have yet to reach a universal cultural standard, raising the cultural standard is a very important prerequisite to each revolutionary change. Lenin asserted: "Without universal literacy, without a sufficient knowledge of efficiency, without training the population sufficiently to acquire the habit of reading books, without the material basis for this, without certain safeguards...without all of these things, we shall not achieve our objective."(4)

Moreover, to advance agriculture to large-scale socialist production and establish an agro-industrial economic structure for the district, it is absolutely necessary to transform agriculture, to carry out agricultural cooperativization. Without propagandizing and teaching the mass of farmers, we cannot lead them down the path of earning their livings collectively (especially in the provinces of Nam Bo at this time). Only when they gradually begin to achieve socialist awareness and place their confidence in socialism can they feel secure in following the course of industrialization charted by the party. This large task is primarily the task of the ideological and cultural revolution. Thus, it is clear that the ideological and cultural revolution in the countryside is designed to competently support economic construction and development within the districts and localities.

In addition, this revolution also has the goal of molding the new, socialist man, the distinguishing characteristics of whom are: exercising collective ownership, working and displaying socialist patriotism and the proletarian international spirit. These new persons are the large production forces of society and also the dominant forces in the three revolutions within our country.

To mold such new persons, we must carry out the ideological and cultural revolution.

The impact of cultural development upon economic construction is also seen in the fact that it can retard the rate of development of the economy if we charge headlong into cultural development without giving attention to the specific economic conditions that are required. In the countryside at this time, there are more than a few places that have carried out cultural development beyond their own needs and far beyond their economic capabilities, as a result of which they have hampered the development of production in many ways. Some of the cultural projects they have built far exceed their needs in terms of their size and number, have absorbed very large amounts of capital, large amounts of materials, equipment and labor of installations.

The facts presented above show that the ideological and cultural revolution in the countryside plays a very practical role in the process of economic development within districts and at installations. For this reason, truly full attention must be given to cultural development within the whole of our work so that our efforts to carry out cultural development have an impact not only on the front of establishing the new culture and molding the new man, but also on the front of building the new system, the new economy. This is the dialectic between culture and the economy during the period of transition in our country. As our party has pointed out: the new economy has a decisive influence upon the formation of the new culture and the molding of the new man. Conversely, victory in the establishment of the new culture and the molding of the new man becomes an important force behind the building of our new system, our new economy.

One other important matter that must be discussed is the role of cultural development within the district in the establishment of the new culture and the molding of the new man throughout the country.

The content and form of our new, socialist culture are created by the richness and diversity in content as well as form of the cultures of the fraternal nationalities and the vivid color of the culture of the localities and installations. Therefore, we must carry out cultural development in every region of the country and especially in the mountain provinces and districts, where many ethnic minorities live.

Thus, due to the need to develop our social life in a comprehensive manner, due to the needs of the development of the new culture throughout our country, we must attach importance to developing cultural life within the countryside and at installations to "insure that every factory, worksite, state farm and forestry site, every unit of the armed forces and the People's Public Security Forces, every agency, school, hospital and store, every village, cooperative, subward and hamlet has a cultural life"(5), as stated at the 5th Party Congress. The cultural development of the districts is of extremely important significance. The culture of the district is the bridge to the culture of the entire country and links the culture of the central level to the culture of the installations. Because our level of material production is still low, communications are still underdeveloped and the mass media have not been widely developed throughout our country, the people in the countryside have little opportunity to participate in the cultural activities of the entire country, of the central level or even of their own province. Therefore, we must concern ourselves with developing the district culture, which includes building village cultural clusters to organize the spiritual cultural life of the local people. In this way, we can propagate and popularize culture, can bring the common spiritual values of the entire country to each installation and meet the cultural needs of many different strata within the district. This is a demand raised by the special nature of cultural life. Besides this, we must satisfy the needs of youths, teenagers, manual workers, troops and so forth to enjoy new forms of art, such as films, music, plays and so forth. The resolution of the 5th National Congress of Delegates of the Party pointed out the need to "make every effort to develop and improve the quality of cultural, literary and art activities to suit each person, each age group, locality and nationality in order to satisfy the large and rising cultural needs of the people."(6)

Together with the task described above, the development of the district culture also means organizing, guiding, developing and improving the cultural life of the villages, hamlets, factories, enterprises, stations, farms and so forth within the district. The district halls of culture that have been established in a number of districts, such as Dong Hung District in Thai Binh Province, Hai Hau District in Ha Nam Ninh Province, Hoang Hoa District in Thanh Hoa Province and so forth, have played a definite role in formulating plans and programs of activity and improving the quality of cultural activities at installations. The training of village writers, literary and art activists, public speakers and propagandists has begun to be incorporated in the activities of the district halls of culture. At the cultural facilities of the district, club activities, symposiums, exhibits, displays, literature and art festivals and so forth can also be held. These activities have the purpose of cultivating and improving mass cultural, literary and artistic activities at installations and enabling the people to participate in large numbers in the creation of the new values of spiritual culture.

Thus, the development of the district culture plays an extremely large role in the ideological and cultural revolution being carried out to establish the new culture and mold the new man within the countryside and throughout the country. This is an issue that we must research in depth under specific themes. Allow us here to boldly suggest the following number of themes:

1. Developing the district culture from the overall perspective of researching and planning population centers, cultural centers and industrial and agricultural production centers coordinated with communications and water conservancy projects within the district town, throughout the district and so forth in order to create a new countryside that consists of economic areas that are also rich and diverse cultural centers.

2. Develop the district culture in terms of politics and ideology by raising the socialist awareness of the masses and gradually elevating their thinking on the basis of the world view of the working class.

3. Developing the district culture from the perspective of teaching basic knowledge. This includes wiping out illiteracy and popularizing general school education on the basis of building supplementary education schools, general schools and work-study schools on the different levels.

4. Developing the district culture from the perspective of knowledge of material production: providing knowledge of science and technology and economic management, cultivating manual skills and the ability to apply the results of scientific research in daily life and production, training laborers for new production sectors and trades, etc.

5. Developing the district culture in the field of spiritual life: organizing literature and art units, club activities, physical culture and sport activities and so forth that bring new spiritual values to the masses and help them create new spiritual values.

6. Building the district culture from the perspective of lifestyle, customs and habits: abolishing old, backward lifestyles and customs that pose obstacles to production and training the new man and creating new customs and habits through festivals of a mass nature, such as transplanting contests, tree planting festivals, buffalo and cattle judging, handicraft product judging, etc.

7. Building the district culture from the perspective of hygiene and physical conditioning: building hospitals and medical aid stations, establishing disease prevention hygiene organizations, conducting recreational and entertainment activities, disseminating scientific knowledge on disease prevention and control, etc.

The above mentioned themes are closely interrelated and require the research of many persons, of many different specialists and must be closely guided in order to achieve the desired results.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "On the Ideological and Cultural Revolution," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 305.
2. Ibid., pp 304-305.
3. "Van kien dai hoi 5"[The Proceedings of the 5th Congress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, p 94.
4. V.I. Lenin: "On the Ideological...", p 300.
5. The Proceedings of the 5th Congress, p 101.
6. Ibid., p 100.

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CSO: 4210/21

HISTORICAL MATERIALS: A NEWSPAPER ARTICLE WRITTEN BY UNCLE HO 65 YEARS AGO:
'THE NATIVE QUESTION' IN INDOCHINA

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 84 pp 69-72

[Text] Editorial Note: 65 years ago, on 2 August 1919, L'HUMANITE Newspaper published in Paris, France, printed an article entitled "La Question Indigene"(The Native Question) by Nguyen Ai Quoc. It was one of Uncle Ho's earliest newspaper articles. We have printed a translation of the complete text of the article below for study by our readers.

Recently, on 18 June, L'HUMANITE Newspaper published the text of the petition presented by the Vietnamese to the Peace Conference(1), demanding amnesty and release of all native political prisoners, the reform of the legal system in Indochina through the establishment of equality of legal rights between natives and French, freedom of the press, freedom to hold meetings and form associations, freedom of education, government by law instead of government by decree and, finally, permanent, elective native representation in the French Parliament. We can only consider these very proper demands to be our own in this age in which the desire of people is to achieve the right of self-determination.

France began its invasion and occupation of Indochina at nearly the same time that Japan was taking its first steps in the famous reforms of 1868. However, in the nearly one-half century that has passed, Japan succeeded in establishing a system that has brought it into the ranks of the world's leading super powers. France, it must be said, is still groping about in its Indochina policy. In fact, it can even be asked whether it has ever had an Indochina policy. Because, since being occupied by France, our country has known virtually nothing but misery day after day and never knows where the government is leading it--a government that talks about a policy of assimilation at one point in time and a policy of coalition or something else at another but which actually has applied no policy at all. The real situation is this: today, as well as prior to today, the conquerers and the people live face to face within an atmosphere of mutual distrust. This gloomy picture is deserving of concern and should be examined from a number of different perspectives.

Psychologically, the attitude on the other side is one of suspicion and contempt; on this side, a state of resentment and despair exists. The books and newspapers published by the colonialists are filled with violent attacks upon the conquered people and hurl a stream of insults directly at their faces, insults made with increasingly belligerent audacity, because the authors know in advance that these people cannot retaliate against them and that they can only grit their teeth and bear the insults thrown at them. We read in these publications such verdicts as the following: "There is only one way to rule this race of Annamese---the rule of force... Educating the Annamese or permitting them to educate themselves will, on the one hand, supply them with rapid-fire weapons to use against us and, on the other hand, train learned dogs and produce more problems than benefits..."

From the perspectives of administration and law, an abyss separates the French and the natives. The French enjoy every freedom and govern as absolute masters; the natives are led around bound and gagged and have only the right to do what they are told and not complain. If they dare protest, they are immediately branded as a rebel or counter-revolutionary and dealt with in a manner befitting this crime. Even greater suffering awaits any native who flees abroad to escape this benevolent regime. His family is tormented and his friends, if caught, are sentenced to hard labor or sent to the guillotine. Natives must even carry a pass to travel within the country from one locality to another. For the native, justice exists as follows: any Frenchman who kills, murders or rapes a native knows that if the case is not kept completely quiet, the court will set him free and that any appearance in court will only be a matter of form. The principle applied here is that of doing everything possible to preserve the prestige of the white man in the eyes of the yellow natives. The French Parliament has learned a little bit about these practices through a number of revelations made by Member of Parliament Violet in a report on the Indochina budget.

The Rule of Tyranny

In the provinces, natives on trial, all bound hand and foot, must suffer the capricious decisions and despotism of the French rulers and the greed and cruelty of their obedient servants, the officials who are the products of the new system! It is the cheapest kind of justice sold to the highest bidder. In years past, the natives could always appeal all the way up to the imperial court; today, however, the suffering "Annamites" have no sage upon whom to rely and are left with only the justice of God. Those who, in the language of the colonialists, are called troublemakers and have their fates secretly decided in dark chambers disguised as criminal courts are natives of integrity who are respected and trusted by their compatriots.

The contradictions are no less striking in the economic field. On the one side are the natives who are kept in ignorance and weakness by a system of learning designed to indoctrinate them, to keep them unenlightened, a system that not even the best piece of deception can pass off as a form of education, a system that teaches that they must pour their sweat and tears into the most strenuous and menial of labor to eek out an existence, while it is virtually their efforts alone that support each budget of the government. On the other side are the French and the foreigners: they move about at will, claim for

themselves all the resources of the country, take for themselves all exports and imports and all the most lucrative businesses and brazenly exploit the ignorance and poverty of the people.

Controlled by brute force, the Vietnamese, whose real history began more than 3,000 years ago, have from time to time been overtaken by feelings of restlessness and resistance, feelings manifested in the plotting of widespread uprisings or in actions of desperate persons, such as the moderate demonstrations in 1908 (see the official Journal of the Society for the Protection of Human Rights, 30 December 1912) and the recent bombings in Nam Ky and Bac Ky. Alas! These were feeble protests that led to bloody repressions on each occasion and, moreover, gave the government a pretext to do as Napoleon did in the case of the "Infernal Machine"(2) and eliminate, in a civil manner, those Viets who do not applaud their arbitrary methods. We know that in the war(3), Indochina was the scene of heart-rending events that led to the establishment of martial law, which was accompanied by mass death sentences and executions. Now, the hard labor prisons in Guam, in New Caledonia, on Con Dao Island and so forth are filled with native political prisoners. Machine guns and guillotines quickly force those who are obstinate, those who resist to shut their mouths.

Competition from Japan

The situation that we have broadly outlined could last indefinitely if the war--which has turned all Europe upside-down--does not lead to new behind the scenes discussions of the native question. In fact, because of the war, Japan has won from France special concessions in Indochina. Thus, we must look ahead to the day when the Japanese arrive to operate all sorts of businesses and make increasing fortunes in this region. The result will be a life of even greater difficulty for the natives: they will be kept in ignorance by unenlightened policies, weakened by deprivations, by the many corrupt practices of the state-treasury and the privileged corporations that force them to consume opium and liquor and they will continue going around in a very tight circle.

In principle, progress is dependent upon the development of internationalism and civilization can only benefit when international relations are broadened and strengthened. On the other hand, it would be unreasonable to think that two neighboring peoples such as the Vietnamese people and the Japanese people can live indefinitely in isolation from each other. However, the Japanese, thanks to their astute government, have a very full range of means and are well equipped to wage an economic struggle. Meanwhile, the Vietnamese--for the reasons already stated--have absolutely nothing by way of modern advances compared to their neighbors: the Chinese, the Japanese, the Siamese and even the Indians. The question thus arises: in the face of the new situation created by the influx of foreigners, does not the French government think that it has come time, for the sake of common interests, to emancipate the natives and help them with all the means at its disposal to prepare themselves for the strong competition that they will face from the Japanese and other foreigners?

If their answer tends toward the affirmative, we would find it difficult to understand how our demands, which were published in the 18 June issue of

L'HUMANITE, could send shock waves through colonialist circles. We know for certain that a high ranking officer (French--ND) in command of the colonial labor brigades(4)--perhaps on the basis of directives received from superiors--ordered each brigade commander to confiscate every copy of the above mentioned petition found among Vietnamese laborers. Very moderate in both content and form, our aspirations are for major reforms that grant us our emancipation and for the rights of freedom, without which the man of today is nothing more than a pitiful slave. No one can deny that without these rights of freedom, which are essential to the spread of ideas and knowledge demanded by modern life, there can be no hope of providing any kind of serious education.

Nguyen Ai Quoc
L'HUMANITE Newspaper, Number 5584, 2-8-1919
Translated and annotated by
Professor Hoang Xuan Nhi

FOOTNOTES

1. The Versailles Peace Conference, which brought World War I to an end.--ND.
2. "Machine infernale": the "Infernal Machine," an explosive device, had been placed in a position to assassinate Bonaparte. However, by a stroke of luck, he escaped injury. Although he knew the names of the perpetrators, he cleverly ordered the imprisonment of 138 innocent persons, all of whom were opponents of his policies (24 December 1800--ND).
3. World War II--ND.
4. They consisted of unskilled native laborers who were sent to France to support the war, mercilessly exploited and paid cheap wages; all of them were under the command of French officers.ND.

7809

CSO: 4210/21

STUDIES: THE LAWS OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION--
ESTABLISHING AND SOLIDIFYING THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE WORKING CLASS AND THE
FUNDAMENTAL MASSES AMONG PEASANTS AND THE OTHER STRATA OF LABORERS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 84 pp 73-79

[Article by Quyet Tien]

[Text] This is a matter of very important strategic significance because, in the unrelenting struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie, victory will belong to the side that wins the support of an establishes its leadership over peasants and other laborers.

Among the allies of the working class, peasants are its "natural" and largest ally. For this reason, the peasant issue and the alliance of workers and peasants are of special importance within scientific socialism. These are also strategic issues of decisive significance in the success or failure of the struggle by the proletariat to win political power, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, transform the old society and build the new, socialist society.

Marx and Engels frequently pointed out that in order to complete its historic mission, the working class must win the support of peasants. As early as the 1850's, Marx advanced his thinking on coordinating the proletarian revolution with the revolutionary movement of peasants, considering this to be an important part of his doctrine on continuous revolution. He maintained that the bourgeois revolution in Germany at that time could, once it exploded, very likely develop continuously and become a proletarian revolution if it were supported by a "reoccurrence of the peasant war." In the 1890's, Engels defined the task of parties as orienting their activities toward the countryside. Realizing the peasants were capable of advancing to socialism if they were led and educated by the party of the working class, he charted the following course for the advance by peasants to socialism: "Once we have seized political power, we will have to give thought to the use of force to seize the property of small peasants (either with or without payment of compensation) just as we are compelled to do with landowners. Our task as far as small peasants is concerned primarily involves leading their private production and private ownership down the path of cooperation, not by

compulsory measures, but by setting examples for them and having society assist them in this effort."(1)

Under the new circumstances of world history that emerged when capitalism became imperialism, Lenin inherited and developed upon the Marxist thinking concerning the peasant issue and the alliance of workers and peasants.

Lenin maintained that, under imperialism, the revolution could break out and win victory in an economically underdeveloped country if the working class of that country established its right to lead peasants. On the basis of the revolutionary capabilities of peasants led by the working class, Lenin established the principle of the close relationship between the bourgeois democratic revolution and the socialist revolution in the age of imperialism. Also on the basis of his awareness of the large role played by peasants, Lenin highly evaluated the revolutionary movement in the colonies and quasi-colonies, whose populations consisted mainly of peasants, considering it to be a part of the proletarian revolution.

Once political power had been won, Lenin attached very much importance to the role of peasants in the socialist revolution and emphasized the strategic significance of the alliance between workers and peasants: "The highest principle of the dictatorship is to maintain the alliance between the proletariat and peasants so that the proletariat can retain its leadership role and retain state power."(2)

In socialist construction, Lenin pointed out that the working class must maintain an alliance with the millions of small peasants and handicraft laborers. It must seize the right to lead peasants in order to build socialism. Lenin charted the course of leading peasants to socialism through the cooperative system. He emphasized: the dictatorship of the proletariat is a special form of alliance between workers and peasants, an alliance that has the purpose of successfully building socialism and advancing to communism, an alliance within which the working class plays the leading role. Only under the leadership of the working class can peasants display their tremendous revolutionary capabilities and only by seizing the right to lead peasants and other laborers can the working class advance the revolution to final victory.

We know that workers and peasants are the two majority classes of the population, are the forces that create the majority of the wealth on which society depends. However, in the old societies, they were poor, were severely oppressed and exploited. The firm foundation underlying the alliance between these two classes is that they share a common enemy and share the aspiration to be liberated from the oppression and exploitation of that enemy. Within the capitalist countries, their common enemy is the capitalists. Within the colonies and vassal countries, their common enemies are imperialism and the feudal class (in the national democratic revolution) and the native bourgeoisie (in the proletarian revolution). To topple their common enemies and achieve liberation, workers and peasants must establish an alliance. Only in this way can they win victory in their struggle.

The alliance of workers and peasants is a pressing need for both classes. Peasants, although they possess large revolutionary forces, are decentralized

and disorganized because of their close association with the small peasant economy, consequently, they cannot liberate themselves without the leadership of a vanguard class within society. In the past, when capitalism was developing, peasants joined forces with the bourgeoisie and consented to leadership by the bourgeoisie in order to bring down the feudal system. Today, now that capitalism has declined and the bourgeoisie has shown itself to be outmoded and increasingly reactionary, the interests of peasants are increasingly in sharp contradiction with the interests of the bourgeoisie. To liberate themselves, peasants must follow the working class, the class that represents the inevitable evolution of history, the class capable of leading all laboring people in the struggle to topple the ruling exploiters, abolish the old society and build the new. Conversely, to complete its historic mission, the working class must join with its natural ally, peasants. Only by establishing an alliance with peasants can the working class greatly increase its power, throw off the exploiters' ruling yoke and seize political power. And, only by aligning itself with peasants can the working class firmly retain political power in order to continue to lead the revolution forward and realize its noble goals of successfully building socialism, abolishing every form of oppression and exploitation, abolishing the exploitation of man by man and bringing freedom, equality, comfort and happiness to everyone.

Thus, the alliance of workers and peasants is a strategic issue, is a law of the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

However, it must be realized that the alliance of workers and peasants has different objectives, different participants and different themes in the different strategic stages of the unified revolutionary process led by the working class.

In the stage of the democratic revolution, the objectives of the alliance of workers and peasants are to topple the dictatorship of the feudal landowners, secure democratic rights for the people and prepare the conditions for advancing to the socialist revolution. The strata with whom the proletariat must align itself are all peasantry, including wealthy peasants. Of course, the main stratum with which it must align itself is laboring peasants; its alliance with wealthy peasants is merely a temporary coalition because wealthy peasants, although antagonisms exist between them and landowners over the ownership of cropland and the hiring of manpower, drift increasingly further away from the revolution as the democratic revolution advances. The theme of the alliance at this point in time is primarily one of political alliance (and, depending upon the specific situation within each country, even military). The economic alliance during this stage is achieved through meeting the cropland requirements of peasants.

In the stage of the socialist revolution, the objectives of the alliance of workers and peasants are to solidify the working class' leadership, maintain and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat state, successfully carry out socialist transformation and socialist construction while firmly defending the socialist fatherland of laborers. The stratum with whom the working class aligns itself in this stage is laboring peasants, most importantly poor peasants; however, it must also give full attention to aligning itself with middle peasants, who have now become the central character in the countryside.

The themes of the alliance are political, economic and military; however, the main theme is economic alliance, which is achieved through the adoption of correct policies by the party concerning laboring peasants, the most important of which are the policies on agricultural cooperativization and the building of the new, socialist countryside and the various policies designed to establish a good relationship between industry and agriculture.

Concerning the alliance of workers and peasants in the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, Lenin once wrote: "The proletariat must carry the democratic revolution to completion, aligning itself to the mass of the peasantry, in order to crush the autocracy's resistance by force and paralyze the bourgeoisie's instability. The proletariat must accomplish the socialist revolution, aligning itself to the mass of semi-proletarian elements of the population so as to crush the bourgeoisie's resistance by force and paralyze the instability of the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie."(3)

The experience of the international communist party, primarily of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state, shows that the establishment and strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the fundamental masses among peasants and the other strata of laborers are achieved through many different measures, the most important of which are the need for the party of the working class to adopt correct lines and policies concerning peasants, lines and policies that meet the pressing political, economic, cultural and social needs of peasants, the need to perform constant but patient political and ideological educational work and widespread organizational work among peasants to separate them from the influences of the bourgeoisie and bring them within the sphere of socialism; and the need to adopt suitable forms of organization for the purpose of bringing peasants together and leading them down the path of the revolution against the ruling exploiters and, once political power has been seized, advancing peasants to socialism through cooperativization. One other important measure is that of the dictatorship of the proletariat state led by the party to provide the necessary material and technical assistance to the cooperative organizations of laboring peasants, perform widespread cultural work among peasants and gain the participation of large numbers of laboring peasants and other laborers in the management of the state, the management of the economy and society.

In our country, the peasant issue and the alliance of workers and peasants were also considered issues of utmost importance by our party and President Ho. President Ho, who was the first Vietnamese to point out the large role and powerful forces of Vietnamese peasants in the revolution, considered peasants to be the "principal and most trusted ally of the working class."

As far back as the days when preparations were being made for the founding of the party, President Ho asserted the vital position occupied by the alliance of workers and peasants led by the working class: "Workers and peasants are the masters of the revolution." Summarizing the factors guaranteeing the victories of the revolution, President Ho once wrote: "The alliance of workers and peasants must be successfully established because it is the surest guarantee of the revolution's victories. Only with the alliance of workers and peasants led by the working class can we decisively and completely topple the counter-revolutionary powers, win and consolidate the political power of

the laboring people, complete the historic tasks of the national, democratic revolution and advance to socialism."(4)

In keeping with the thinking of President Ho, our party very clearly raised the peasant issue and the issue of the alliance of workers and peasants within the Vietnamese revolution at the very outset. The Political Thesis that was drafted by Tran Phu, the first general secretary of the party, and adopted at the October 1930 plenum of the Party Central Committee framed the line on carrying out the national democratic revolution and advancing to socialism in our country. The thesis correctly pointed out that the imperialists and feudalists were the enemies of the Indochinese revolution and emphasized that the main forces of the revolution were workers and peasants led by the working class.

Throughout the course of the people's national democratic revolution in our country, our party always attached importance to mobilizing the people to establish and strengthen the alliance of workers and peasants. One of the important experiences gained by our party during that stage was: in order for the peasantry to closely unite with the working class and eagerly participate in the United National Front, in order to mobilize and organize the powerful revolutionary forces of peasants to resist the imperialists and their feudal lackeys, the party of the working class must quickly adopt a complete agrarian program and steadfastly lead peasants in the struggle to implement this program. Only in this way can the working class' leadership of the peasantry be consolidated.

By implementing the agrarian policy, we also carried out the anti-feudal task in our country. However, due to the need to direct the thrust of the revolution against our principal and most powerful enemy, the country-robbing imperialists, and because the task of resisting the feudalists was always subordinate to the task of resisting the imperialists, our party decided that it was necessary to implement the agrarian program gradually. In the beginning, the anti-feudal task was defined as the task of lesser importance; this task gradually grew in importance and culminated in thorough agrarian reform and the elimination of the entire class of feudal landowners. As a result of this correct solution to the problem, our party correctly maintained the alliance of workers and peasants throughout the stage of the people's national democratic revolution and directed the full force of this alliance toward toppling the rule of the foreign imperialists and their lackeys. Agrarian reform was only carried out during the final period of the people's national democratic revolution and was completed during the early years of the socialist revolution.

Of course, in the stage of the national democratic revolution, the political and military alliance played a very large role in our country. As a result of it, we won victory over two imperialist powers, France and the United States, achieved national liberation and opened the way for the advance by the entire country to socialism.

In the stage of the socialist revolution, our party has attached even more special importance to the alliance of workers and peasants, considering it to be a strategic issue of extremely important significance in bringing victory

to our cause of building socialism and defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

In this stage, the political and military alliance continues to be maintained. As viewed by our party, the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country is essentially the right of collective ownership of the laboring people, the nucleus of whom are workers and peasants led by the party of the working class. The armed forces of our country, which consist primarily of workers and peasants and are led by the party of the working class, have the great and glorious task of maintaining their readiness to firmly defend the socialist fatherland of the Vietnamese.

However, from the perspective of the entire socialist revolution, the main aspect of the alliance of workers and peasants within our country at this time and in the future is and will continue to be the economic alliance.

There are many measures that can be taken to strengthen and solidify the economic alliance of workers and peasants; however, it must be recognized that the most basic and important measure is that of carrying out the agricultural cooperativization campaign in order to gain the participation of all laboring peasants in socialist construction. And, of key importance in the success of this campaign is the need to very correctly implement the basic policies of the party concerning cooperativization. As Le Duan, general secretary of the party, pointed out:

"It must be stated by us that all laboring peasants, even middle peasants, have the right of being the collective masters within our system, of being the masters of cooperatives, the masters of instruments of production and the labor force, the masters of production and distribution, the masters of the building of the new countryside within their localities and, in this way, participate in being the masters of the entire country. Therefore, the basic principle in cooperativization is to establish close unity between poor peasants and middle peasants to insure that middle peasants (who constitute the largest segment of the peasantry in many rural areas of the South) are drawn into the various forms of collective production, into the cooperativization movement at the very outset. All of the policies applied within cooperatives must benefit those peasants who have little or no cropland and give appropriate attention to the interests of persons who have much cropland and persons who own agricultural machinery."(5)

Under this correct basic policy and with the thorough teaching of ideology and the thorough organizational work performed by communists, the agricultural cooperativization campaign in our country will surely reach new stages of development and make large contributions to the effort to solidify the alliance of workers and peasants.

Together with promoting the agricultural cooperativization campaign, our party has attached very much importance to establishing a good relationship between industry and agriculture. This relationship is considered to be a very important part of the party's line on building the socialist economy.

In the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism in our country, the relationship between industry and agriculture has been defined in even greater detail by our party. This is clearly seen in the fact that socialist industrialization is the central theme in the present stage.

We must fully understand the points presented above so that we can contribute to solidifying the alliance of workers and peasants, the key force of the socialist revolution in our country.

One other matter that must be mentioned is that, under the specific conditions of our country, the issue of the alliance of workers and peasants is closely related to the issue of the united front.

Throughout the long course of the Vietnamese revolution, the alliance of workers and peasants has always been the base of the broad united front of the nation of Vietnam. This front has been constantly broadened and strengthened as the Vietnamese revolution has developed. In its existence throughout both strategic stages of the revolution, the united front in our country has gone by the following names: the Indochina Anti-Imperialist Popular Front, the Indochina United Democratic Front, the Viet Minh Front, the Lien Viet Front, the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam and, finally, the Vietnam Fatherland Front, the united front in the stage of the socialist revolution.

Serving as the base of the united front, which is an extremely important factor guaranteeing the advance by the Vietnamese revolution to one victory after another, is one of the very important roles of the alliance of workers and peasants within our country.

FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx and F. Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, Volume II, p 530.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, Volume 44, p 57.
3. V.I. Lenin: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1961, Book 1, Part 2, p 100.
4. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap"[Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume 2, p 466.
5. Le Duan: "Cach mang xa hoi chu nghia o Viet-nam"[The Socialist Revolution in Vietnam], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume 3, pp 583-584.

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CHINA: HAS IT OR HAS IT NOT 'ALIENATED' ITSELF?

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 84 pp 80-82

[Article by Tran Quoc Tu]

[Text] Recently, in China, a sharp debate erupted over the issue of "alienation," an issue also referred to as the issue of "regression" or "retrogression." Some intellectuals, writers and artists, including the well known literary and art theorist Zhou Yang, wrote articles in various newspapers on the issue of "alienation." They reached the conclusion that "alienation" has occurred in all fields of politics, economics and ideology in China. They discovered the "law of alienation" of "Chinese style socialism."

As the debate came into fashion, the Chinese authorities suddenly flicked on the red light and ordered the debate to cease. The authors of the theory of "socialist alienation" were compelled to criticize themselves. The writer Zhou Yang had to write an article in the paper admitting his mistake.

The editor-in-chief of PEOPLE'S DAILY Newspaper, the person who gave permission to print the articles by Zhou Yang and the others on the "alienation" theory, was fired.

Why did this debate of a philosophical nature concerning the issue of "alienation" cause such concern to the Beijing authorities? On 3 January 1984, in a speech on the "alienation issue" at the Advanced Party School in Beijing, Hu Qiaomu, who once employed the Maoist point of view to distort the history of the Communist Party of China and is currently a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, revealed the reasons behind the order to terminate this debate. Hu Qiaomu said that the socialist alienation theory "blames every negative phenomenon in society on the system and the forces leading it and makes the leadership of the party and government the target of opposition." He also said: "Some persons, on the basis of the theory of alienation, have bluntly demanded the abolition of all social power and each socio-economic organization." He stated: "It (the theory of alienation) is a catastrophe sufficient enough to destroy the socialist system (Chinese style)."

Zhou Yang and the other proponents of the theory of "socialist alienation" brought to light an aspect of reality within Maoist China. On the basis of clear and irrefutable evidence, they asserted that "alienation" has indeed occurred within China: "ideological alienation"; "political alienation" or "alienation of power"; "economic alienation" and so forth. In an article printed in PEOPLE'S DAILY in March, 1983, Zhou Yang said that "alienation" exists within China; that this "alienation" is evident in the cult of the individual that surrounds our leaders as well as in the stupidity with which we go about our work in the field of rebuilding the economy." Applying the "alienation" viewpoint presented by Feurerbach when discussing religion-- religion is created by man and then gains control over man and becomes his master and God is nothing more than the alienation of man from what he actually is--Zhou Yang maintained that the cult of the individual (surrounding Mao and his successors) is a form of this "alienation": "Leaders elected by the people to be their servants have become the masters of the people."

The Chinese authorities do not deny the negative phenomena within Chinese society cited by the authors of the theory of "alienation." Hu Qiaomu himself, in an article criticizing Zhou Yang and the other supporters of the theory of "alienation," admitted that there is a cult of the individual in China as well as corrupt cadres who use their authority for personal gain, to intimidate the masses, etc.

One question arises from the debate over "alienation": has Maoist China "alienated" itself or has it not?

Once a socialist country that has now become an anti-socialist country, once an anti-imperialist country that is now collaborating with imperialism, who is to say that China has not "alienated" itself?

However, the Chinese working class, the Chinese people and the genuine communists within China have not "alienated" themselves. They continue to oppose imperialism; they continue to fight for the ideals of socialism and communism; they oppose the Chinese authorities' collaboration with imperialism, headed by the U.S. imperialists.

Actually, Mao Zedong and his successors have not "alienated" themselves, either. They have been unswerving in their pursuit of great nation expansionism and big country hegemony. They revealed their adherence to great China expansionism long before they seized political power in Beijing. Mao Zedong himself wrote in the book "The Chinese Revolution and the Communist Party of China"(1939) that Vietnam, Korea and many other countries are "territories of China" that had been stolen from China by the imperialists. Mao's thinking was that China must demand the return of these "territories"! And what did this reflect, if not great China chauvinism?

The failure of the Chinese revolution once again proves the correctness of the following argument made by the classical authors of Marxism-Leninism: the proletariat fights its way into power, the bourgeoisie sneak into power.

The Beijing authorities have proclaimed themselves to be the representatives of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. They say that China is

the center of the world revolution, that Maoism is the pinnacle of man's intellect, that Mao Zedong is the leader of the world revolution. To realize their dreams of expansion and hegemony, they have, in the space of the 30 years that they have been in power in Beijing, launched three wars of aggression against the three countries of India (1962), the Soviet Union (1969) and Vietnam (1979). These represent new stages of development of the expansionism and hegemony of the Maoist group in power in Beijing. Expansionism and hegemony have always been and continue to be part of their nature. It is not that they were once genuine communists and have today evolved into expansionists and hegemonists. Therefore, the issue of "alienation" does not apply to the Maoist group in power in Beijing. As everyone knows, nationalist elements headed by Mao Zedong seized the leadership of the Communist Party of China at the Zunyi Conference (in early 1935). They then hid behind the mask of Marxism-Leninism in order to carry out their sinister scheme: establish their rule in China and then gradually achieve hegemony in Southeast Asia, Asia, Africa, Latin America and the entire world.

In discussing the recent debate over "alienation" in China, it is not our intention to defend Zhou Yang and the other intellectuals in China who support the theory of "alienation" nor is it our intention to endorse their view concerning "the law of socialist alienation." Our only purpose is to objectively report on a debate over theory in our neighboring country to the North.

Hu Qiaomu as well as Zhou Yang and the others have made reference to Hegel, Feuerbach and Karl Marx when discussing "alienation." Hegel, Feuerbach and Karl Marx discussed "alienation." Although their viewpoints were totally different and completely opposite from one another, all three gentlemen used the concept "alienation"--also called "regression"--to denote the phenomenon of one thing evolving into its complete opposite. In a number of his works, especially his early works, Karl Marx used the concept of the "alienation of labor" to denote the phenomenon of the commodities produced by workers becoming that which controls workers. Karl Marx employed the concept of "alienation" to expose the antagonisms within capitalist society, criticize capitalism and reach the conclusion that capitalism must inevitably perish and be replaced by communism. Karl Marx only talked about "alienation" within capitalist society. Of course, such "alienation" cannot occur under socialism.

Today, Zhou Yang and the other intellectuals in China have exposed the "alienation" in China, the kingdom of Maoism. Clearly, "Chinese style socialism" is not the scientific socialism of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

When they exposed the "alienation" in Maoist China, Zhou Yang and the other intellectuals who proposed the theory of "alienation," either consciously or unconsciously stripped away the "socialist" label that the Beijing authorities had affixed to their state apparatus, thereby exposing it as the state of great China chauvinism. It was this that caused Mr. Deng Xiaoping to write like a leech covered with lime and issue the order to immediately terminate the debate on "alienation."

DARK SHADOWS OF MILITARISM OVER JAPAN

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 84 pp 83-88

[Article by Nhuan Vu]

[Text] One of the phenomena that is attracting the attention of observers of the international scene is the re-emergence of Japanese militarism. The Nakasone government, which is considered by the Western press to be one of the most pro-U.S. Tokyo governments ever, is actively working with militaristic powers in a vain attempt to restore Japanese militarism. In the Japanese islands today, the two phenomena of a pro-U.S. posture and militarism have merged as one and share a close, reciprocal relationship: one is the premise, the prerequisite for the development of the other. The yen and the Japanese war apparatus have become increasingly tied to the dollar and the U.S. war machine. The result of these marriages has been the resurgence and development of Japanese militarism under the umbrella of the militaristic line of the Reagan administration, under the protection of U.S. militarism.

The Hired Guards' "Sharing of Responsibility"

Concerning the visit by Reagan to Japan between 9 and 11 November, 1983, observers of the international scene remarked that Reagan brought from the United States a gust of wind to enable the Japanese hawks to soar at greater heights.

Under the headline "Reagan Seeks Stronger Strategic Cooperation with Japan," the French newspaper LE MONDE wrote on 12 November 1983: "This high level meeting (between Reagan and Nakasone) vividly illustrates what the U.S. ambassador to Japan, Mike Mansfield, said before Reagan visited Japan: 'Japan is the most important ally of the United States because the next century will be the century of the Pacific.' This commitment has been denounced by some among the Japanese opposition as a new step toward the militarization of Japan."

Under the headline "Cooperation in the Pacific," the FAR EAST ECONOMIC REVIEW published in Hong Kong wrote in its 10 November 1983 issue: "The Reagan administration maintains that Japan must play a strategic role in the western

Pacific, just as Nakasone thinks that a self-defense capability is essential to Japan's self-respect."

The visit of "friendship" by the U.S. President to Japan actually was nothing more than an opportunity for Reagan to present a host of demands of the Nakasone government. The U.S. President demanded that Japan make concessions to the United States in many areas of long-standing disagreement, such as finances, monetary affairs and trade, and demanded that Japan create favorable conditions for the opening of the Japanese market, including opening it to capital investments, with a view toward reducing the United States' serious trade deficit with Japan (this trade deficit, which stood at roughly 20 billion dollars in 1983, could rise to 30 billion dollars by the end of 1984). The U.S. President also demanded that the Tokyo government use the arms race to resolve the economic difficulties now being encountered by Japan and suggested how this could be done.

In a speech during the concluding session of the second round of talks with the Japanese prime minister, the U.S. President declared: "Japan is the host country to 45,000 American troops and the U.S. bases in Japan. This is the result of our joint cooperation and security agreements. As regards the national defense efforts of Japan, the United States still maintains that the most important contribution that Japan can make to peace and security in Asia is for Japan to provide for its own defense and assume an increasing share of the heavy burden of our common defense efforts."

Shifting from the military to the economic field, Reagan continued: "We welcome the latest actions of your government (Japan) to reduce trade barriers and I want to emphasize the importance of additional measures to open the Japanese market to trade and investment"(UPI, Tokyo, 10 November 1983).

It is quite clear that Reagan kept the door tightly closed to Nakasone on the trade and economic issues but threw the door wide open on the arms race issue in order to force Japan to "share military responsibility" with the United States. In an attempt to "kill two birds with one stone," the U.S. policy toward Japan is designed to reduce competition from Japan in the market while increasing Japan's military strength and using it as a force supporting U.S. military forces in the attempt by Reagan to "achieve military superiority" for the United States. This is the theme of the "strategic cooperation" between the United States and Japan that Reagan and Nakasone toasted over glasses of sake. In essence, it is also the theme of the strategic cooperation between the military-industrial complexes of the United States and Japan and between U.S. militaristic powers and Japanese militaristic powers.

U.S.-Japanese "Strategic Cooperation" under the Shadow of the American Flag

The strengthening of strategic cooperation between Japan and the United States described above is being seen in many specific strategic measures. To begin with, the Nakasone government, following in the footsteps of previous Tokyo governments, has advocated continued increases in the annual defense budget of Japan (which now far exceeds 1 percent of the gross national product; if the salaries and subsidies paid to military personnel and a number of other expenses were included in the military budget of Japan as they are in the

defense budgets of the Western countries, this percentage would stand at roughly 1.5 percent). Japan's defense budget now exceeds 12 billion dollars and is the fifth largest in the world. In addition to these military expenditures, the Tokyo government must also annually pay a portion of the cost incurred by the United States to maintain U.S. military forces in Japan, roughly 750 million dollars.

Taken from the pockets of Japanese taxpayers, these roughly 13 billion dollars flow into the coffers of the Japanese military-industrial complex, shares in which are held by the U.S. military-industrial complex. This is the milk that nourishes the Japanese militaristic powers who wear the uniform of the so called "national defense force," that is, the Japanese army, and are emerging as the hard core of the extremist parties and groups on the political stage in Japan.

Through this rapid increase in the military budget, the Tokyo government is stepping up the supply of modern weapons to the Japanese army, primarily to expand the scope of operation of Japan's military forces into areas that lie far from Japan. With the start of 1984, an operating range of 1,000 nautical miles from the shoreline of the Japanese islands became very small in the face of the development of the various services and branches of the Japanese military, especially the navy and air force.

According to Western documents, the Japanese navy has 135 warships, 90 support vessels and more than 300 combat aircraft and helicopters. The Japanese navy has ordered the construction of many destroyers equipped with missiles and submarines with an oceanic operating range. Of course, Japanese naval officers will not be content to allow the Japanese fleet to go on being the tail of the shark that is the U.S. 7th Fleet in the western Pacific indefinitely. At the start of the 1980's, Japanese warships were plying the waters of the central Pacific, toward the waters off Southeast Asia and into the waters adjacent to the Philippines. This new and growing capability is the drug stimulating the rebirth of the unfinished dream of Greater East Asia of Samurai circles.

The Japanese air force has been equipped with the most modern combat aircraft built in accordance with U.S. specifications in Japanese factories. The Tokyo government is ordering from the United States many F15 and F16 combat aircraft, the most modern of the U.S. Air Force, which Washington only sells to a number of its closest allies. Japan's industry has shown itself to be fully capable of quickly mass producing missiles of all types.

The mission of the Japanese army is no longer restricted to the framework of defending the Japanese islands because the Japanese navy has now been equipped with landing ships, each capable of transporting more than 1,000 soldiers and 60 tanks.

Restoring the Unfinished Dream of Greater East Asia

With Japanese militarism having bared its claws, the modern day Samurai are no longer satisfied with parading their swords down the streets of Tokyo, rather, they are casting their "conquerers' eyes in all directions. However, because

their strength is still limited, the only "forest" in which they can go "hunting" is Northeast Asia, which represents the first step, a step taken in preparation for the second step: into Southeast Asia.

In view of these strategic considerations, the Japanese national defense agency, that is, the Japanese Ministry of National Defense, can never conceal the fact that the current scope of operation of Japan's armed forces is not limited to the territory of Japan, as the constitution of that country requires, but is being expanded to the strategic straits to the north, west and south of the Japanese islands and even to the southern portion of the Korean peninsula. The modern day Samurai are still being "modest": they have not yet turned their attention to the island and Straits of Taiwan or the Philippine Sea in order to open the way into the South China Sea. The realities of history, from the time of the Emperor Meiji to the day that Japan launched the war in the Pacific in World War II, show that the aggressive, militaristic powers in Tokyo possess that unique characteristic of patiently waiting for an opportunity and acting gradually, with decades sometimes passing between one step and the next.

Thus, the Japanese militaristic powers of today are edging their way back to the old course of the Japanese militaristic powers of bygone years and looking at Northeast Asia as the starting point of a new process of subjugation.

Here, they are headed into strong winds.

In Seoul, the South Korean militaristic regime is waving its hands for help at both Washington and Tokyo, help that it needs to survive. Meanwhile, in the "post-Vietnam" era, the Washington government is constantly and loudly demanding that Japan "share responsibility" with the United States in Northeast Asia in order to enable the United States to "send naval, marine and air force units stationed in Japan and Okinawa into the Persian Gulf should the need arise. To implement this strategy, the Reagan administration is stubbornly demanding that Japan and South Korea assume a greater portion of the responsibility for Northeast Asia. The Reagan administration plans, in particular, to turn U.S. relations with Japan into relations of actively shared responsibility"(NEW YORK TIMES, 7 June 1982).

As for the United States, demanding that Japan "share responsibility" with the United States is to demand that Japan serve as unpaid guard protecting the interests of the United States in Northeast Asia so that the United States can further extend its activities in Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean. As for Japan, the main reason for agreeing to "share responsibility" with the United States in Northeast Asia is to gain a foothold in this strategically important region so that it can then extend its expansionist activities into the Far East and the waters of Southeast Asia. They are using one another, each for their own purpose.

Even before Reagan's trip to Tokyo and Seoul in November, 1983, a news bulletin released by the USIS on 26 October 1983 read: "High ranking officials of the Reagan administration say that during his trip to Asia in November, 1983, the U.S. President will encourage both Japan and South Korea to increase their participation in the international efforts to find solutions

to global problems." On 12 November 1983, the day that Reagan left Tokyo for Seoul, the French newspaper LE MONDE observed: "Reagan has tacitly confirmed that it is the unofficial policy of the Washington government to encourage close political and military ties between Tokyo and Seoul within the framework of the global strategy of the United States."

Thus, the "Northeast Asia military alliance" directed against the Soviet Union that Reagan is seeking to establish is the glue uniting the three militaristic powers of the United States, Japan and South Korea but, more importantly, it is the drug stimulating the advance by Japanese militarism to new stages of development. This is a new potential danger that seriously threatens peace and security, not only in Northeast Asia, but in Southeast Asia and all of Asia as well. How can people so quickly forget that in the war in the Pacific, only a little more than 40 years ago, Japanese forces attacked and occupied a number of islands in the Solomon chain near Australia and advanced to the Burma-India border and that the Japanese navy operated in the waters off Sri Lanka?

Beijing "Joins In"

It was against the background of the militaristic forces of the United States, Japan and South Korea being brought together under the flag of the American president that Hu Yaobang visited Tokyo on 23 November 1983, that is, less than 2 weeks after the Reagan visit.

On 20 November 1983, before Hu Yaobang arrived in Tokyo, a bulletin released by Japan's Kyoto News Agency read: "Japan, which invaded China in World War II, is now the only non-communist country to be called a 'friendly' country by the Chinese government... Military officials say that despite sharp disagreements, Japan and China share a common concern for security on the Korean peninsula..."

Following Hu Yaobang's 8-day visit to Japan, the Western press observed that the Korean issue was part of the agenda of the talks between Hu Yaobang and Nakasone. The "friendly" talks between the two sides amounted to nothing more than some hard bargaining between disciples of "pragmatism." Falling in line behind Reagan, Hu Yaobang wanted to show that "Beijing had cast its vote" for Japan's Liberal Democratic Party with a view toward encouraging it to increase Japan's involvement in the arms race and the military alliance with the United States against the Soviet Union. Of course, Hu Yaobang did not forget to ask a high price of Nakasone for his services. Concerning Hu Yaobang's official visit to Tokyo, LE MONDE wrote in its 24 November 1983 edition: "Concerning the Korean issue, it has been reported that during U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger's visit to China in late September, 1983, Deng Xiaoping suggested that an exchange of ideas should take place between the United States and China, even with Japan. The moderate tone of Beijing's reaction to President Reagan's visit to Seoul seems designed to show the need for such an exchange... Following the drop in trade between China and Japan in 1982 (8.8 billion dollars), trade this year (1983) will equal the level reached in 1981 (10 billion dollars). Tokyo, having agreed in principle to make large, long-term loans to China beginning in 1984, has a loan of 300

billion yen (1.5 billion dollars) awaiting approval, with approval most likely coming before the spring of 1984."

Thus, ever the disciples of the "white cat, black cat" theory, dazzled by dollars and yen and giving no attention whatever to the history lesson that they, themselves, were once the tragic victims of the Japanese fascists, the reactionary powers within Beijing ruling circles are clearing the way for the modern day Samurai to achieve their ulterior objective of a new "Greater East Asia." They, too, dream of establishing a Washington-Tokyo-Seoul-Beijing militaristic axis to oppose the Soviet Union, oppose the three revolutionary currents in the world.

Dawn Will Dispel the Dark Shadows

Militarism is a genuine threat to the political and social life of Japan. The material base and tools of militarism are being strengthened more with each passing day. The modern day Samurai are developing their forces and spreading their influence on the political stage in Japan and nurture the dream of bringing back the days of their golden past when militarists in uniform or disguised in civilian garb directly controlled the ruling apparatus in Japan. As they collaborate with their American, South Korean and Chinese chums, they pose a potential threat to the peace and security of Northeast Asia, Southeast Asia and even all of Asia and the Pacific.

However, in view of the balance of power that exists in the world today, the wingspan of the Japanese hawks cannot simply be stretched to suit their desires or the desires of their supporters. They find themselves facing an intense struggle being waged by the revolutionary and progressive forces of Japan, typified by the Communist Party of Japan, a struggle supported by the revolutionary and progressive forces of the entire world, the nucleus of which is the Soviet Union and the socialist community.

As a result, the Nakasone government was recently taught a well deserved lesson by the voters of Japan in the elections held there on 18 December 1983: Japan's Liberal Democratic Party lost 36 seats and was unable to win the majority of 256 of the 511 seats of the lower house of the Japanese Diet. On 26 December 1983, in the election of prime minister within the lower house of the Diet, Nakasone received a slim majority of 265 votes thanks to the votes cast for him by a number of conservative members who ran for election as independents.

The position of Japan's Liberal Democratic Party and that of Nakasone as well on the political stage is declining. Commenting on the defeat of Japan's Liberal Democratic Party on 18 December 1983, the WASHINGTON POST wrote: "Nakasone's surprising defeat gives rise to doubts (on the part of the United States) concerning the ruling Liberal Democratic Party's ability to increase Japan's military strength, which is a key factor in the U.S.-Japanese cooperation that the U.S. President talked about in Tokyo last month."

The recent political setbacks of Nakasone and Japan's Liberal Democratic Party are also setbacks for the militaristic line being pursued by Tokyo, for the militaristic powers of Japan as well as the United States and China.

Against the background of the strong offensive that has been mounted by the three revolutionary currents in the world, the people of Japan are waging an intense struggle to force the Tokyo government to abandon its militaristic line, its line of following the lead of the United States in the arms race and cancel the U.S.-Japanese security treaty in order to build a Japan of peace, neutrality and non-alliance. The struggle between Japanese revolutionary and progressive powers and the reactionary, militaristic powers is a sharp and bitter one. However, in the end, the light of dawn will dispel the dark shadows of militarism in the skies over the Japanese islands.

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